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Pro-Slavery.

In this Department we give place to such extracts from the Pro-Slavery Press, North and South, as serve best to illustrate the character of Slavery and the spirit of its champions and apologists.

COMPROMISE NOSTRUMS.

PLAN OF ADJUSTMENT ADOPTED BY THE PEACE CONGRESS.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 27, 1861.

The following are the propositions adopted, and a correct list of each vote given in the Peace Conference to-day on the plan adopted as a basis for final settlement. The vote in each case was cast by States. The first section was that offered by Mr. Franklin of Pennsylvania, and the second section that offered by Mr. Summers of Virginia:

ARTICLE 13.

SECTION 1. In all the present Territory of the United States north of the parallel of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes of north latitude, involuntary servitude, except in punishment of crime, is prohibited. In all the present Territory south of that line the status of persons held to involuntary service or labor, as it now exists, shall not be changed. Nor shall any law be passed by Congress or the Territorial Legislature to hinder or prevent the taking of such persons from any of the States of this Union to said Territory nor to impair the rights arising from said relation. But the same shall be subject to judicial cognizance in the Federal Courts according to the course of the common law. When any Territory, north or south of said line, within such boundary as Congress may prescribe, shall contain a population equal to that required for a member of Congress, it shall, if its form of government be Republican, be admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the original States, with or without involuntary servitude, as the Constitution of such State may provide.

YEAS—Delaware, Illinois, Kentucky, Maryland, New Jersey, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Tennessee—9.
NAYS—Connecticut, Iowa, Maine, Massachusetts, North Carolina, New Hampshire, Vermont, and Virginia—8.
DIVIDED—New York and Kansas—2.
NOT VOTING—Indiana.

SEC. 2. No territory shall be acquired by the United States, except by discovery and for naval and commercial stations, depots, and transit routes, without the concurrence of a majority of all the Senators from States which allow involuntary servitude, and a majority of all the Senators from States which prohibit that relation; nor shall territory be acquired by treaty, unless the votes of a majority of the Senators from each class of States hereinbefore mentioned be cast as a part of the two-thirds majority necessary to the ratification of such treaty.

YEAS—Delaware, Indiana, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, New Jersey, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Tennessee, and Virginia—11.
NAYS—Connecticut, Illinois, Iowa, Maine, Massachusetts, North Carolina, New Hampshire, and Vermont—8.
DIVIDED—New York and Kansas—2.

SEC. 3. Neither the Constitution, nor any amendment thereof, shall be construed to give Congress power to regulate, abolish or control, within any State, [illegible] thereof touching persons held to labor or involuntary service therein, nor to interfere with or abolish involuntary service in the District of Columbia, without the consent of Maryland and without the consent of the owners, or making the owners who do not consent just compensation; nor the power to interfere with or prohibit representatives and others from bringing with them to the District of Columbia, retaining and taking away, persons so held to labor or service; nor the power to interfere with or abolish involuntary service in places under the exclusive jurisdiction of the United States within those States and Territories where the same is established or recognized; nor the power to prohibit the removal or transportation of persons held to labor or involuntary service in any State or Territory of the United States to any other State or Territory thereof where it is established or recognized by law or usage; and the right, during transportation by sea or river, of touching at ports, shores and landings, and of landing in case of distress, shall exist; but not the right of transit in or through any State or Territory, or of sale or traffic, against the laws thereof. Nor shall Congress have power to authorize any higher rate of taxation on persons held to labor or service than on land.

The bringing into the District of Columbia of persons held to labor or service for sale, or placing them in depots to be afterwards transferred to other places for sale as merchandise, is prohibited.

YEAS—Delaware, Illinois, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, New Jersey, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Tennessee, and Virginia—12.
NAYS—Connecticut, Indiana, Iowa, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Vermont—7.
DIVIDED—New York and Kansas—2.

SEC. 4. The third paragraph of the second section of the fourth article of the Constitution shall not be construed to prevent any of the States, by appropriate legislation and through the action of their judicial and ministerial officers, from enforcing the delivery of fugitives from labor to the person to whom such service or labor is due.

YEAS—Connecticut, Delaware, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, New Jersey, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Vermont, and Virginia—15.
NAYS—Iowa, Maine, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire—4.
DIVIDED—New York and Kansas—2.

SEC. 5. The foreign slave trade is hereby forever prohibited, and it shall be the duty of Congress to pass laws to prevent the importation of slaves, coolies or persons held to service or labor, into the United States and the Territories from places beyond the limits thereof.

YEAS—Connecticut, Delaware, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, New Hampshire, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Vermont, and Kansas—16.
NAYS—Iowa, Maine, Massachusetts, North Carolina, and Virginia—5.

SEC. 6. The first, third and fifth sections, together with this section of these amendments, and the third paragraph of the second section of the first article of the Constitution, and the third paragraph of the second section of the fourth article thereof, shall not be amended or abolished without the consent of all the States.

YEAS—Delaware, Illinois, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, New Jersey, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Tennessee—11.
NAYS—Connecticut, Indiana, Iowa, Maine, Massachusetts, North Carolina, New Hampshire, Vermont, and Virginia—9.
DIVIDED—New York.

SEC. 7. Congress shall provide by law that the United States shall pay to the owner the full value of his fugitive from labor, in all cases where the Marshal or other officer whose duty it was to arrest such fugitive, was prevented from so doing by violence or intimidation from mobs or riotous assemblages, or when, after arrest, such fugitive was rescued by like violence or intimidation, and the owner thereby deprived of the same; and the acceptance of such payment shall preclude the owner from further claim to such fugitive. Congress shall provide by law for securing to the citizens of each State the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

YEAS—Delaware, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Maryland, New Jersey, New Hampshire, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Tennessee, and Virginia—12.
NAYS—Connecticut, Iowa, Maine, North Carolina, Missouri, and Vermont—7.
DIVIDED—New York.
NOT VOTING—Massachusetts.

The Peace Conference adjourned *sine die* at 1 o'clock.

At 2 o'clock Dr. Puleston, Secretary of the Conference, was introduced to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and presented the following memorial, with a letter from President Tyler, and the amendments adopted by the Conference.

A like communication was handed to Vice-President Breckinridge for presentation in the Senate:

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES: The Convention assembled upon the invitation of the State of Virginia, to adjust the unhappy differences which now disturb the peace of the Union, and threaten its continuance, make known to the Congress of the United States that their body convened in the city of Washington on the 4th inst. and continued in session until the 27th.

There was in the body when action was taken upon that which is here submitted, one hundred and thirty-three Commissioners, representing the following States: Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Iowa, and Kansas.

They have approved what is herewith submitted, and respectfully request that your honorable body will submit it to Conventions in the States, as article thirteen of amendments to the Constitution of the United States.

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

[In the United States House of Representatives, Wednesday, Feb. 27, the following resolutions, reported by Mr. Corwin, of Ohio, from the Committee of Thirty-three, were adopted.]

Resolved, That, in the opinion of this Committee, the existing discontents among the Southern people, and the growing hostility among them to the Federal government, are greatly to be regretted; and that, whether such discontents and hostility are without just cause or not, any reasonable, proper and constitutional remedies, and additional and more specific and effectual guaranties of their peculiar rights and interests, as recognized by the Constitution, necessary to preserve the peace of the country and the perpetuity of the Union, should be promptly and cheerfully granted.

Resolved, By the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That all attempts on the part of the Legislatures of any of the States to obstruct or hinder the recovery and surrender of fugitives from service or labor are in derogation of the Constitution of the United States, inconsistent with the comity and good neighborhood that should prevail among the several States, and dangerous to the peace of the Union.

Resolved, That the several States be respectfully requested to cause their statutes to be revised, with a view to ascertain if any of them are in conflict with or tend to embarrass or hinder the execution of the laws of the United States, made in pursuance of the second section of the fourth article of the Constitution of the United States for the delivery up of persons held to labor by the laws of any State and escaping therefrom; and the Senate and House of Representatives earnestly request that all enactments having such tendency be forthwith repealed, as required by a just sense of constitutional obligations, and by a due regard for the peace of the Republic; and the President of the United States is requested to communicate these resolutions to the Governors of the several States, with a request that they will lay the same before the Legislatures thereof respectively.

Resolved, That we recognize slavery as now existing in fifteen of the United States by the usages or the laws of those States; and we recognize no authority, legally or otherwise, outside of a State where it so exists, to interfere with slaves or slavery in such State, in disregard of the rights of their owners or the peace of society.

Resolved, That we recognize the justice and propriety of a faithful execution of the Constitution, and laws made in pursuance thereof, on the subject of fugitive slaves, or fugitives from service or labor, and discountenance all mobs or hindrances to the execution of such laws, and that citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

Resolved, That we recognize no such conflicting elements in the composition, or sufficient cause from any source, for a dissolution of this government; that we were not sent here to destroy, but to sustain and harmonize the institutions of the country, and to see that equal justice is done to all parts of the same; and, finally, to perpetuate its existence on terms of equality and justice to all the States.

Resolved, That the faithful observance, on the part of all the States, of all their constitutional obligations to each other and to the Federal government is essential to the peace of the country.

Resolved, That each State shall be requested [illegible] same as to secure, without legislation by Congress, to citizens of other States travelling therein, the same protection as citizens of such State enjoy; and also protect the citizens of other States travelling or sojourning therein against the popular violence or illegal summary punishment, without trial in due form of law for imputed crimes.

Resolved, That each State be also respectfully requested to enact such laws as will prevent and punish any attempt whatever in such State to recognize or set on foot the lawless invasion of any other State or Territory.

Resolved, That the President be requested to transmit copies of the foregoing resolutions to the Governors of the several States, with a request that they be communicated to their respective Legislatures.

Resolved, That as there are no propositions from any quarter to interfere with slavery in the District of Columbia, or in places under the exclusive jurisdiction of Congress, and situate within the limits of States that permit the holding of slaves, or to interfere with the inter-State slave trade, this Committee does not deem it necessary to take any action on those subjects.

The resolutions were adopted, 136 against 53, as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Adams of Mass., Adams of Ky., Adrain, Aldrich, Anderson of Ky., Babbitt, Barrett, Brabson, Boteler, Brayton, Briggs, Bristow, Brown, Burch, Burnham, Butterfield, Campbell, Carter, Clark of Mo., Coburn, Clark, B. Cochrane, John Cochrane, Colfax, Conkling, Corwin, Covode, Cox, Craig, Craig of Mo., Davis of Md., Davis of Ind., Delano, [illegible], Dunn, Edwards, Ely, English, Etheridge, Farnsworth, Ferry, Foster, Fouke, French, Gilmer, Graham, Grow, Gurley, Hale, Hall, Hamilton, Harris of Md., Harris of Va., Haskin, Hatton, Helmick, Hoard, Holman, Howard of Ohio, Howard of Mich., Humphrey, Irvine, Junkin, Kellogg of Mich., Kellogg of Ill., Kenyon, Kilgore, Kunkel, Killinger, Larrabee, Leach of N. C., Lee, Logan, Longnecker, Loomis, Maclay, Mallory, Marston, Martin of Ohio, Maynard, McClernand, McKean, McKenty, McKnight, McPherson, Millson, Montgomery, Moore, Moorhead, Morrill, Morris of Pa., Morris of Ill., Nelson, Niblack, Nixon, Noell, Olin, Palmer, Perry, Pettit, Peyton, Phelps, Porter, Potter, Quarles, J. H. Reynolds, Rice, Riggs, Robinson of R. I., Robinson of Ill., Royce, Scranton, Sherman, Sickles, Simms, Smith of N. C., Spaulding, Stanton, Stevenson, Stewart of Pa., Stokes, Stout, Thayer, Tompkins, Train, Trimble, Vallandigham, Vance, Verree, Waldron, Walton, Webster, Wilson, Windom, Wood, Woodruff.

NAYS—Alley, Ashley, Avery, Bingham, Blair, Blake, Bocock, Branch, Buffinton, Burlingame, Burnett, Carey, Case, Conway, Craige of N. C., Dawes, Dejarnette, Duell, Edmundson, Elliott, Fenton, Garnett, Gooch, Hickman, Hindman, Hughes, Hutchins, Jenkins, Leach of Mich., Leake, Lovejoy, Martin of Va., Potter, Pryor, E. R. Reynolds, Ruffin, Rust, Sedgwick, Smith of Va., Somes, Spinner, Stevens, Stewart of Md., Tappan, Thomas, Vandever, Van Wyck, Wade, Washburn of Wis., Wells, Whiteley, Winslow, Woodson.

PROPOSED AMENDMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION.

The resolutions printed above having been adopted, the House next proceeded to vote upon the following proposed amendment to the Constitution, forming a part of the report of the Committee of Thirty-three:

Be it Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, two-thirds of both houses concurring, that the following article be proposed to the Legislatures of the several States, as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of said Legislatures, shall be valid, to all intents and purposes, as part of the said Constitution, viz.:

"That no amendment shall be made to the Constitution which will authorize or give Congress power to abolish or interfere within any State with the domestic institutions thereof, including that of persons held to labor or servitude by the laws of said State."

The vote was, Yeas, 120, Nays, 71. The Yeas being less than two-thirds of the whole number voting, the resolution was lost. Mr. Kilgore (Rep.) of Indiana, immediately moved a reconsideration, and the House adjourned. On Thursday, the motion came up in regular order, when Mr. Kilgore, after making a compromising speech, called for the previous question. He withdrew the motion, however, to give opportunity for another compromising speech by Mr. Stanton, of Ohio, but refused to permit Mr. Lovejoy, or any one else, to speak a word on the other side. The reconsideration having been carried, the question upon adopting the proposed constitutional amendment was put again, with the following result:

YEAS—133.

Republicans—Messrs. Adams of Massachusetts, Aldrich, Babbitt, Briggs, Butterfield, Campbell, C. B. Cochrane, Colfax, Corwin, Delano, Dunn, French, Hale, Hall, Helmick, Hoard, Howard of Michigan, Humphrey, Junkin, Kellogg of Illinois, Kenyon, Kilgore, Killinger, McKnight, McPherson, Moorhead, Morrill, Morris of Pennsylvania, Morse, Nixon, Olin, Porter, John H. Reynolds of New York, Rice, Robinson of Rhode Island, Scranton, Sherman, Spaulding, Stanton, Stratton, Thayer, Theaker, Trimble, Verree, Windom and Wood.

Administration Democrats—Messrs. Avery of Tennessee, Barr, Barrett, Bocock, Branch, Brown, Burch, Burnett, Clarke of Missouri, Clemens, John Cochrane, Cox, Craig of Missouri, Craige of North Carolina, De Jarnette, Dimmick, Edmundson, English, Florence, Fouke, Garnett, Hamilton, Harris of Virginia, Holman, Howard of Ohio, Hughes, Jenkins, Kunkel, Larrabee, Leake, Logan, Maclay, Martin of Ohio, Martin of Virginia, McClernand, McKenty, Millson, Montgomery, Niblack, Noell, Pendleton, Peyton, Phelps, Pryor, Robinson of Illinois, Ruffin, Rust, Scott, Sickles, Simms, Stevenson, Stewart of Maryland, Stout, Thomas, Vallandigham, Whiteley, Winslow, Woodson and Wright.

Anti-Administration Democrats—Messrs. Adrain, Horace F. Clark, Davis of Indiana, Haskin, and Morris of Illinois.

Americans—Messrs. Adams of Kentucky, Anderson of Kentucky, Boteler, Bouligny, Brabson, Bristow, Davis of Maryland, Etheridge, Gilmer, Harris of Maryland, Hatton, Leach of North Carolina, Mallory, Maynard, Moore of Kentucky, Nelson, Quarles, Smith of North Carolina, Stokes, Vance and Webster.

NAYS—65.

Republicans—Messrs. Alley of Massachusetts, Ashley of Ohio, Beale of New York, Bingham of Ohio, Blair of Pennsylvania, Blake of Ohio, Brayton of Rhode Island, Buffinton of Massachusetts, Burlingame of Massachusetts, Burnham of Connecticut, Carey of Ohio, Carter of New York, Case of Indiana, Covode of Pennsylvania, Conkling of New York, Conway of Kansas, Duell of New York, Edgerton of Ohio, Eliot of Massachusetts, Ely of New York, Farnsworth of Illinois, Fenton of New York, Ferry of Connecticut, Foster of Maine, Frank of New York, Gooch of Massachusetts, Grow of Pennsylvania, [illegible] of Ohio, Hutchins of Ohio, Irvine of New York, Kellogg of Michigan, Kilgore of Indiana, Leach of Michigan, Lee of New York, Longnecker of Pennsylvania, Loomis of Connecticut, Lovejoy of Illinois, Marston of New Hampshire, McKean of New York, Perry of Maine, Potter of Wisconsin, Pottle of New York, E. R. Reynolds of New York, Royce of Vermont, Sedgwick of New York, Somes of Maine, Spinner of New York, Stevens of Pennsylvania, Stewart of Pennsylvania, Tappan of New Hampshire, Tompkins of Ohio, Train of Massachusetts, Vandever of Iowa, Van Wyck of New York, Wade of Ohio, Waldron of Michigan, Walton of Vermont, Washburn of Wisconsin, Washburne of Illinois, Wells of New York, Wilson of Indiana and Woodruff of Indiana.

Administration Democrats.—Mr. Hindman of Arkansas.

Anti-Administration Democrats.—Messrs. [illegible] of Indiana, Hickman of Pennsylvania.

The SPEAKER—There being the necessary two-thirds, the resolution is adopted.

Tremendous applause on both the Democratic and Republican side, and from the galleries.

WHAT CAPT. BOBADIL WILL DO.—*The New Orleans Delta*, in a long war article, says: If war be forced upon the South by the incoming Administration of the Northern States, it will be the obvious policy of the South to keep war from her own borders by invading the enemy's territory. No Southern woman should hear the discharge of a hostile musket; no interior Southern village should be startled with the echoes of a hostile cannon. As the North would endeavor to make the most of her naval advantages, the South should at once take steps to get possession of the chief Northern seaports and harbors, and thus leave the enemy's navy without a *point d'appui* for its operations, and cut off from supplies of men and money, ammunition and provisions, and means of repair. For the South, then, to construct an adequate war marine would be only a question of time; but meanwhile privateers, hired from New England and other shipowners, would form a very effective substitute. This is no visionary project. No country offers so many vital points of attack as one that is thickly populated, manufacturing, and highly commercial. An agricultural country, such as most of the South, is comparatively invulnerable to invasion. The dense population of a large unwalled city augments its weakness when an enemy has once reached it. It must be defended at a distance, if at all. A Southern army, once victorious beyond the Southern boundary, and in the direction of Philadelphia, New York and Boston, those cities would be at its mercy. Commanding those cities, it would not be long before the South would command the whole Northern seaboard, and in due time she would command the sea."

WHAT THE SOUTH THINKS OF NORTHERN CONSERVATIVES.—*The Methodist* publishes a letter from an Alabamian, whom it describes as an "intelligent and loyal Christian minister," from which we take this extract:

"I have watched the course of *Harper's Weekly* and your own paper, and a few others that have sought Southern patronage; and miserable, miserable have been the manifestations. Gentlemen, we are going to set up for ourselves. We are done with you. We feel toward you as the Italians do to the Austrians. You are the most malignant enemies we have on earth! I say this as profoundly convinced of its truth as of anything I believe. May God avert all [illegible] the South. One drop shed, and woe! [illegible] who have advised and persuaded to it. I know what I say—the war will be carried into Africa. We have more respect for Wendell Phillips than for the pseudo friends who have feigned conservatism for the money! You'll make but little more out of us. It's all the use you've had for us."

Selections.

SPEECH OF SENATOR WILSON.

Extract of a speech delivered in the United States Senate, Feb. 21, 1861, by Hon. HENRY WILSON, of Massachusetts.

BEATEN ignominiously before the people, the slave propagandists rush into rebellion, threaten the subversion of the government; and the Senator from Kentucky, under these treasonable menaces, comes into the Senate of the United States, and proposes to put into the Constitution, beyond all power of change, the practical issue made by these slave propagandists; and the Senator from Illinois accepts the proposition which he rejected at the cost of the unity of his party last June. . . . . I tell the Senator from Kentucky, aye, and the Senator from Illinois, who chides us for not greedily clutching at this fatal proposition, that the laboring men of America, who fought the battle on the 6th of November, for the freedom of the Territories, will never accept this plan of adjustment, which includes all the slave protection Democracy battled for in the canvass. We cannot consent to put his platform into the Constitution of our country—never. Sir, the right of Congress to exclude slavery from the places under its exclusive jurisdiction within the limits of the States is beyond all controversy. Congress has never attempted to exercise that power, does not now propose to do so, and may never deem it wise to do so. But the Senator from Kentucky is not content; he now proposes to declare "Congress shall have no power to abolish slavery in places under its exclusive jurisdiction, and situate within the limits of the States that permit the holding of slaves." The right to take slaves in transit into and through the free States, is claimed by persons in the slave States, and Virginia has now a case pending in the Supreme Court with the State of New York to establish that right. Fearing that Congress might attempt to prohibit or hinder the loathsome traffic which pollutes the land, the Senator from Kentucky proposes so to amend the Constitution as to declare that "Congress shall have no power to prohibit or hinder the transportation of slaves from one State to another, or to a Territory in which slaves are by law permitted to be held, whether that transportation be by land, navigable rivers, or by the sea." We, of the North, are also asked to put in the Constitution of our country a provision denying to Congress power to prohibit the transportation of slaves by land, navigable rivers, or by sea, into or through the free States of the Union. Coffles of chained slaves may be driven through free States to their destination, and the Congress of the United States is to be denied all power to hinder such transportation; and this proposed constitutional amendment you call a compromise, to be adopted on pain of the dismemberment of the Union. Congress has ample jurisdiction over the subject of slavery in the District of Columbia. The Senator from Kentucky now proposes to incorporate into the Constitution of the United States, a provision that "Congress shall have no power to abolish slavery within the District of Columbia, so long as it exists in the adjoining States of Virginia and Maryland." The people of the United States may desire to relieve the nation from the guilt and shame of slavery in the national capital, but the government shall have no power to do it, "so long as it exists in the adjoining States of Virginia and Maryland." The people of the District may desire the removal of the cleaving curse—they may nearly unanimously implore the nation to remove from them this evil, to erase this stain, but the government "shall have no power" to do it, "so long as it exists in Virginia and Maryland." What rights has Virginia in slavery in the District of Columbia? What is it to her? Why should the nation bind itself to await the pleasure of Virginia? Why should the people of this District be forced to consult Virginia in regard to their own domestic affairs? The Senator from Kentucky, and the Senator from Illinois, and their supporters in and out of Congress, would, by a constitutional amendment, deny to the people of the District, to the nation, the power to make the Capital of this Christian Republic free, to cleanse it from the pollution of slavery, "so long as it exists in Virginia." Sir, this proposition is monstrous, an indignity and insult to the people of the United States; aye, to the people of this District. The Senator from Kentucky, seconded by the Senator from Illinois, proposes to incorporate in the Constitution a provision that "*the elective franchise shall not be exercised by any persons of the African race, in whole or in part.*" Why, sir, is this proposition of disfranchisement now made? Who demands it? What is to be gained by this disfranchisement of men whose ancestors possessed the right of suffrage before the Constitution of the United States came from the hands of its illustrious framers? "At the time," says Judge Curtis, in the Dred Scott case, "of the ratification of the Articles of Confederation, all free native-born inhabitants of the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey and North Carolina, though descended from African slaves, were not only citizens of those States, but such of them as had the other necessary qualifications possessed the franchise of electors, on equal terms with other citizens." In Maryland and Tennessee, persons of the African race long exercised the right of suffrage. To the casting vote of that class of men John Bell once owed his election to the House of Representatives. Massachusetts adopted her Constitution in 1780, during the War of Independence. That Constitution made the slave a freeman—made persons of the African race citizens, entitled to the elective franchise. This right, secured in the troublous days of the Revolution to persons of the African race, by John Adams, Parsons, Lowell, and their noble associates, has been exercised for eighty years. Now, sir, the Senator from Kentucky comes into this chamber, proposes the disfranchisement and degradation of citizens of Massachusetts, made so by her heroic sires, and I blush to confess that there are men in that Commonwealth so false and recreant to human rights as to petition Congress to sustain this wicked, this monstrous proposition of disfranchisement. I know, sir, it is an ungracious task, in these days and in these Chambers, to maintain even the legal rights of a proscribed race; I am not insensible to the gibes and jeers, the taunts and misrepresentations of a corrupted public opinion; but, I never can—I never will consent, by word or act, to this crime against freemen. The material interests of Massachusetts are dear to me, but the rights of her people are far dearer. Sir, I tell her apostate sons who have put their names to these memorials for the disfranchisement of her colored men, knowing what they did, that the constitutional rights of the humblest man who treads the soil of the old Puritan Commonwealth are dearer, far dearer to me, than all those material interests for which they are ready to sacrifice the rights of their fellow men. Sir, in the dark days of our weakness, the ancestors of the men you would now, in the days of your power, trample beneath your feet, freely gave their blood for the liberties and independence of America. The leader and first victim of the Boston massacre of the 5th of March, 1770, which so fired the hearts and roused the patriotism of the people, was Crispus Attucks, a colored patriot. One of that race mingled his blood with the fallen patriots of the 19th of April, 1775, and they stood with our sires on the heights of Bunker Hill, when the storm of battle clung around and beat upon it. They fought side by side and shoulder to shoulder with our fathers; "for the right," says Bancroft, in his narration of the work of that day, "of the free negroes to bear arms in the public defence at that day, was as little disputed in New England as their other rights." When Major Pitcairn—the leader who opened the murderous fire upon the patriots on the green of Lexington Common—mounted the works, crying, "The day is ours," he fell mortally wounded by the unerring shot of Salem, a black soldier. Hundreds of the ancestors of the men upon whose brows the Senator from Kentucky would stamp degradation, entered the army and fought with heroic courage on the stricken fields of the Revolution. Some of the most heroic deeds of the war of Independence were performed by black men. A braver regiment than the Colored Regiment of Rhode Island, led by the gallant Col. Greene, the hero of Red Bank, trod not the battle fields of the Revolution. Of this black regiment, Tristam Burgess said in the House of Representatives in 1828, that "no braver men met the enemy in battle;" and Gov. Eustis of Massachusetts, Secretary of War under Jefferson, said of them in 1820, "they discharged their duty with zeal and fidelity; the gallant defence of Red Bank, in which [illegible] Rhode Island, pays this noble tribute to the conduct of this regiment in the battle of Rhode Island—which Lafayette pronounced "the best fought battle of the war"—"it was in repelling these furious onsets that the newly raised *black regiment*, under Col. Greene, distinguished itself by deeds of desperate valor. Posted behind a thicket in the valley, they three times drove back the Hessians, who charged repeatedly down the hill to dislodge them; and so determined were the enemy in these successive charges, that the day after the battle, the Hessian Colonel, upon whom this duty had devolved, applied to exchange his command and go to New York, because he dared not to lead his regiment again to battle, lest his men should shoot him for having caused them so much loss." Connecticut, too, raised a battalion of black soldiers, and Col. Humphrey, attached to the military family of Washington, accepted a command in this corps. The heroic defence of the fort on the heights of Groton, by Col. Ledyard and his brave comrades is, the glorious page in our history. By their side fought and fell one of this hated race. History records that, when the works were stormed, the British officer, exasperated by the heroic resistance, inquired: "Who commands this fort?" "I once did; you do now," answered Ledyard, handing the officer his sword, which was instantly run through his body by the officer. Lambert, a black soldier, avenged this murder of his commander by thrusting his bayonet through the body of the British officer, and then fell pierced by thirty-three bayonet wounds. Sir, in the great struggle for independence, in the war of 1812, on land and sea, the blood of the colored men of New England was freely poured out in vindication of your liberties, rights, and honor; and now you ask us to despoil them of their long-possessed rights. Never, sir, never by my consent. In addressing the German working men of Cincinnati the other day, Mr. Lincoln told them that "they were all of the great family of men, and if there was one shackle upon any of them, it would be far better to lift the load from them than to pile additional loads upon them." That was the utterance of a Christian statesman. These men you propose to disfranchise forever, are all of the great family of men, and if there are shackles upon them, it would be far better to lift the load from them than to pile additional burdens upon them. The Senator from Kentucky, supported by the Senator from Illinois, proposes to incorporate into the Constitution a provision authorizing "the United States to acquire districts of country in Africa and South America, for the colonization, at the expense of the Federal treasury, of such free negroes and mulattoes as the several States may wish to have removed from their limits, and from the District of Columbia, and such other places as may be under the jurisdiction of Congress." This proposition is not intended to encourage emancipation, but to perpetuate slavery. It does not propose to send at the public expense such persons as may be hereafter emancipated by masters willing to emancipate on condition of expatriation to distant lands. No, sir, that is not its purpose. That purpose is to make slavery more secure by sending out of the slaveholding States the free negroes. Efforts, inhuman and unchristian efforts, have been made in several of the States, and in some of them successfully, to expel or reduce to slavery the free colored population. Judge Catron, of the Supreme Court, to his honor, denounced the proposition when made in Tennessee, as an attempt "to commit an outrage, to perpetrate an oppression and cruelty." These efforts "to commit an outrage, to perpetrate an oppression and cruelty," have been defeated only in some of the States by the greatest exertions. The proposition was lately made in the Legislature of South Carolina to reduce all free negroes to slavery and confiscate their property. The committee to whom the subject was referred made an adverse report, in which they say, "There is at present within the borders of the State nearly ten thousand free colored persons; that they are thrifty, orderly, well disposed; that they are the owners of a vast amount of property, both real and personal; that in the city of Charleston alone they pay taxes on $1,561,870 worth of property; that of this amount more than $300,000 are in slaves; that the free negroes of Charleston alone pay taxes to the amount of $27,209 81, and that other portions of the State show as fair a ratio." In answer to the proposition to confiscate the property of these people and sell them into slavery, the Committee say they "forbear to consider anything so full of injustice and wickedness." Adopt this proposition, amend the Constitution, and the wild cry will go up for the removal of the free colored men, whose freedom and prosperity, even under the almost crushing burdens imposed upon them, excites the jealousy of the master and the hope of the slave. Put this proposition in the Constitution, and the farmers, mechanics, and working men of the free States will be forced to contribute millions, earned by the sweat of their brows, to enable the people of the slave States to banish their free colored men. Gladly would I so amend the Constitution as to authorize the Federal government to acquire territory, in Mexico or Central or South America, for the colonization, at the public expense, of such persons as the humanity of slavemasters may emancipate, on condition of removal, and for the free people of color who may choose to emigrate at their own expense; but I never can, I never will consent to this proposition for eternizing slavery, and imposing this burden upon the toiling people of the North. No, sir, never, never! The mails are no longer sacred in the slaveholding States—are searched and rifled at the will of Postmasters, Vigilance Committees, and lawless mobs. I find nothing in this plan of adjustment for the security of the property of Northern men, passing in and through the mails of the Southern States. Northern colored seamen are taken from the decks of their vessels, thrust into prison, fined, and sometimes sold into perpetual slavery to pay jail fees, and it is made a penitentiary offence to attempt to defend their rights in the judicial tribunals. Neither the Senator from Kentucky nor the Senator from Illinois propose in their plans of settlement, any security against these wicked and cruel wrongs. Northern ships entering the waters or passing along the shores of Virginia, are visited, searched, and compelled to pay five dollars for each of the unwelcome visitations. The Senator from Kentucky does not propose to right this illegal, tyrannical, and burdensome action of the authorities of the Old Dominion, nor do the compromising Senators from Illinois and Pennsylvania (Mr. Bigler) propose to protect, in any degree, the rights and interests of the North against such legislation. Northern men, sojourning in the Southern States, are subjected to petty annoyances, offensively watched, often for no offence seized, searched, subjected to the greatest personal insults and indecent indignities, imprisoned, lashed, banished, and sometimes brutally murdered. There is no land under the cope of heaven where the citizens of the free States are subjected to such wanton outrages of person and property as in portions of the slaveholding States of this Union. Mechanics pursuing their lawful avocations; merchants and business men, engaged in the almost hopeless effort to collect something from reluctant or bankrupt debtors; gentlemen sojourning for health, pleasure, or business, are often subject to insult, sometimes to danger. To have in one's possession a Northern newspaper, to utter the faintest word of explanation or justification of their section, to uphold the Union and vindicate the government, often, in portions of the South, subjects the Northern gentleman to insult and personal danger. These outrages upon Northern men are known, admitted, often justified; yet, the Senator from Kentucky proposes nothing for their protection—no, nothing whatever. The rights and interests of Northern freemen are of no moment in these chambers. But the Senator from Kentucky asks us, of the North, by irrepealable constitutional amendments, to recognize and protect slavery in the Territories now existing or hereafter acquired south of 36 degrees 30 minutes; to deny power to the Federal government to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, in the forts, arsenals, navy yards and places under the exclusive jurisdiction of Congress, to deny to the National government all power to hinder the transfer of slaves through one State to another—to take from persons of the African race the elective franchise—and to purchase territory in South America or Africa, and send there, at the expense of the Treasury of the United States, such free negroes as the State may desire removed from their limits. And what does the Senator propose to concede to us of the North? The prohibition of slavery in Territories north of 36 degrees 30 minutes, where no one asks for its inhibition, where it has been made impossible by the victory of freedom in Kansas, and the equalization of the fees of the Slave Commissioners. And this, this plan of concession, is called a compromise—the Crittenden compromise—to be supported by the representatives of millions of Northern freemen, on pain of having their fidelity to the Union questioned by the Senator from Illinois, and his confederates, in and out of this Chamber. Such, Mr. President, are the propositions [illegible] States, beyond the power of the American people over to change or repeal. The unclouded reason, the enlightened conscience, the love of country and of the race, all, all forbid that Northern freemen should commit this crime against mankind, our country, and the cause of popular freedom and republican institutions. We cannot, no, sir, we dare not do so. We fear—should we consummate this wrong to our country, to our race—the perpetual reproaches of insulted reason and violated conscience, the irresistible judgment of earth and of Heaven. We fear that our names will be enrolled, not with the benefactors of mankind, but with those who have betrayed the cause of the people. We fear, should we assent to this eternization of slavery in the Constitution our fathers framed to secure the blessings of liberty, that we should sink, after life's fitful fever, into dishonored graves, amid the curses of a betrayed people; and that our names will be consigned to what Grattan, the great Irish orator, called "oppression's natural scourge—the moral indignation of history."

THE PEACE CONVENTION'S COMPROMISE.

SHOULD the propositions adopted by the Peace Convention at Washington be added as amendments to the Constitution of the United States, it will form the most curious chapter of political history on record. A young and vigorous party, after five years of most diligent labor, with one very positive dominant idea resting, for its basis, upon a great moral principle, with a most thorough understanding of their purpose, have carried their point by the largest popular vote ever polled, and decided that slavery SHALL NOT be extended into the Territories of the United States. The first section of the proposed Compromise, offered by Mr. Franklin, provides not only that slavery *shall* be extended into all such Territories, and prohibits Congress from interfering with it there, but absolutely forbids the people themselves of those Territories from interfering with it, no matter what may be their sentiments as to the morality of the system, or their opinions of it as a question of political economy, or even of police regulation! Should an amendment be proposed to the Constitution prohibiting the people of Massachusetts from interfering by legislation with the existence of slavery, polygamy, or any other system which they do, or may hereafter come to consider as barbarous, such a proposition would be held as simply barbarous; and yet it would not be one whit more so than this constitutional amendment in relation to the Territories. Either slavery is, or it is not, likely to go into these now almost unsettled regions. If it is, then the expectation that the two millions of voters who have so recently and so emphatically recorded their decision upon the subject will now change that decision, is founded upon the belief that this body of intelligent men, who have been educated by a training of years up to this point, will, by threats of violence and apprehensions of political turbulence, be moved to forego their strongest intellectual convictions and conscientious impulses. Is this probable? Are we so vacillating and so timid a people? Is there anything in our past history, melancholy as it is on this very subject, that can justify any such expectation? On the contrary, is not the fact that we have been so long in coming to this conviction of what our duty is upon this subject, the very reason why we may feel assured that that conviction is unalterable?

But if, on the other hand, there is no probability that slavery, either from soil, climate, or the habits of the people, is ever likely to get a foothold in those regions, is it likely that the people of the North will consent to so solemn and important an act as an amendment of the Constitution for a purpose so totally uncalled for, and which can serve no other end than to affix upon that instrument of government what all the rest of the civilized world, except ourselves, regards as a stigma? It is little else than an insult to the intelligence of the North, to submit to it such a proposition, in the one case; and injury added to insult, in the other, to offer the South such a stone when they ask for bread. Grant her, at least, the civility of a decent refusal to her preposterous demands.

The same imbecility of purpose, the same want of logical vigor, and the same utter abnegation of any deference to Northern feeling, characterize every other proposition of this miscalled Compromise. The Constitution is wisely confined to the general proposition of leaving to the States the management of their internal affairs, leaving it to the wisdom of the people and of Congress to make any occasional exception when any exigency shall arise that may make such interference imperative. It might, for instance, in case of a formidable servile insurrection, or of a foreign invasion inciting to such insurrection, or of a strong desire on the part of some State to rid itself, by aid of the Federal government, of slavery, be wise, according to the universal judgment, to interfere with the condition of "persons held to service." A government wants the first element of stability that is destitute of good faith among its citizens. If there really be any ground for the mistrust implied in such an amendment as is here proposed, the South may well doubt if the North is to be held back by constitutional obligations at all. It is a sort of bond to keep the peace, which is in itself a confession of an aggressive will.

The stringent propositions to secure the rendition of fugitives are as unwise as all the rest, and by their severity will defeat their own object. An incentive is offered to free every fugitive by a riot, actual or pretended, as every slave so rescued becomes free and safe from further pursuit when a price is paid for him. Sheriffs and Marshals will find it an easy way to get rid of a disagreeable duty to permit a small mob to take the prisoner out of their hands.

A delegate to the Peace Convention from one of the Eastern States said, in this city, on his way home, a few days since, "that those in want of compromises were likely to get a good deal more than they wanted." This one, which, after all, was only got through that Convention by accident, renders the difficulties of any concession so palpable that there is at least a hope that it will utterly defeat all such plans, and bring the attention of the country back to the consideration of the necessity of simple obedience to the Constitution as it is.—*Tribune.*

SHERMAN M. BOOTH.

"THERE is no sight so lamentable and so calculated to awaken pity, as that of a once prominent and talented man utterly prostrated and broken down either by unavoidable misfortunes, or by the calamitous result of his own misconduct.

"When one witnesses such a spectacle, all bitterness and hatred are forgotten, and he sincerely begins to pity, and wish it were otherwise.

"A condition similar to this of which we have spoken is now shared by Booth, who is suffering the penalty of the law for his own rashness, in the county jail of this city. We are informed that he is completely broken down, to all appearance, and he certainly must be if there is a spark of the human left in his composition. For to be confined in a contracted county jail, and made to room with thieves, burglars, gin and whiskey wrecks, and the miserable scullions that are wont to fill a jail in a large city (as is the case with Booth), cannot but gall the soul of one possessed of the talent and education he has had, so as to fairly drive him to madness.

"He had a superior education at Yale College, and at one time was regarded as one of the most talented men in the State. Now, he is made to herd with the vilest of the vile in the county jail, during the day, and at night is confined in a cell the same as his fellow-prisoners. We are informed that those who formerly knew him would hardly recognize him now, so changed is his appearance. His eyes and cheeks are sadly sunken, his clothes feel the want of a tailor or seamstress, and he has all the appearance of a man who might almost as well be dead as alive.

"At the same time, it cannot be denied that he has brought all this upon himself. He who violates the laws of his country or society must expect to suffer the bitter consequences. And yet he could have obtained his freedom long since, but for what seems to us to be a mistaken pride and a dogged obstinacy. Still, even the most impervious sticklers for the law cannot but pity him now, and acknowledge that the iron dignity of the law has been fully vindicated. His offence has been more than atoned for by his suffering, and it certainly would be an act of humanity were he now set at liberty."

We clip the above from the Milwaukee *Wisconsin*, and we feel somewhat surprised that a paper which has beforetime expressed hostility to American slavery should regard so complacently the judicial tyranny that has been imposed on a man whose only offence was loving freedom too well, and manfully helping another to obtain that God-given right, of which he [illegible] declared unconstitutional by the highest tribunal in the very State where the offence was committed. When human conduct is measured by the morality of the royal law, as expounded by Jesus of Nazareth in his sermon on the mount, and man's sense of right and justice is no longer warped by the baleful shadow which now hangs over us, the offence committed by Sherman M. Booth will be commended by the press of America, as it is now by the press of all Christendom besides. This case most forcibly illustrates the maxim that "there is no greater iniquity than that which is committed under the name of law."—*Grand Haven (Mich.) Clarion.*

AN ENGLISH GARDENER HURRIED OUT.

To the Editor of The New York Tribune.

SIR: I am to be sent off from this place to-morrow for being suspected of being favorable to the emancipation of the slaves; and, as I was farming on shares with a man who I expect raised the report, I lose all my time since last August, beside upwards of $60 worth of seeds had from Thorburn's—seed oats and rye—ruta-bagas, etc., in addition. Without any notice whatever, I was arrested and placed in prison, because the man who owned the plantation said he was afraid I should injure him, or his property, and, though he could not bring any kind of proof whatever to substantiate *his* charges, yet I had to find bail, which I did: but, next day, these Englishmen were threatened with the loss of all their customers unless they gave me up; consequently I must remain in jail, and my wife and three little ones suffer want, etc., or go out of the slave States. My wife and children are put into the Sailor's Home, my household effects scrambled together without any care, and put on the "John" schooner, where I am to be guarded by a policeman, and meet my wife and family to-morrow, to land at New York next week without aught to recompense me for the loss of my crops and other expectations. My object in telling you these particulars is that I have not wherewith to take a room to put my furniture in; and if you could put an advertisement in your paper in such a way as to draw immediate attention, I could come to your office on landing, and perhaps meet with some one who wants a "farming manager," and thus my goods could be fetched off the schooner, and be taken direct to my destination. I am an Englishman by birth, and farmed extensively in England, until was engaged North in agriculture previous to coming here in 1859. My passage is paid by the wretch who reaps the advantage of my exertions for the past five months.

Wilmington, N. C., Feb. 13, 1861. G. GARDNER.

WINTER AMUSEMENTS IN GEORGIA

ROASTING A MAN ALIVE.

From The Harris County (Ga.) Enterprise.

ON the morning of the 14th inst., some two or three hours before day, during the absence of Mr. Isaac N. Middlebrook—who resides some six or seven miles north of this place—his house was forcibly entered by some person battering the door down with an axe, Mrs. Middlebrook and two or three small children being the only occupants of the house. The noise awaking the lady, she hailed the intruder, and was answered, after hailing the second time, with the threat that if she did not hush he would kill her, and he immediately sprang to the bedside, grasped Mrs. M. by the throat, lifted her from the bed, carried her out across the yard and threw her over the fence, where he continued to abuse her in the most shameful manner, until a couple of negro women—the only persons on the premises except Mrs. M. and her children—being aroused by her cries, came to her relief, and the fiend, becoming frightened, beat a hasty retreat. The alarm was immediately given in the neighborhood, and the lady being questioned as to the identity of the perpetrator of the deed, stated that she believed it to be a negro man named George, the property of Mr. Abel Nelson, Sen., and who was hired to Mr. John Middlebrook. Dogs having been procured, the track was pursued to a neighboring house, where the boy George had a wife, and thence to the residence of Mr. John Middlebrook. Under these circumstances, it was thought advisable to arrest the negro, which was done, and after an investigation before a Justice of the Peace, he was duly committed, and placed in the jail in this place, as we thought, to await his trial at the April term of our Superior Court.

On Monday morning last, a crowd of men from the country assembled in our village, and made known their intention to forcibly take the negro George from the jail, and execute him in defiance of law or opposition. Our efficient Sheriff, Maj. Hargett, together with most of our citizens, remonstrated, persuaded,

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begged, and entreated them to desist, and reflect for a moment upon the consequences which might follow such a course, but without avail. Maj. Haigett promised to guarantee the safe-keeping of the prisoner by confining him in any manner they might suggest, and our citizens proposed to guard the jail night and day, but all to no purpose. There was no appeasing them. They rushed to the jail, and, despite of all remonstrances, with axe, hammer, and crowbar, violently broke through the doors, and took the prisoner out, carrying him about two miles from town, where they chained him to a tree, and *burned him* to death.

We understand that the negro protested his innocence with his last breath, though repeatedly urged to confess.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

OF

ABRAHAM LINCOLN,

Delivered from the Eastern Portico of the Capitol at Washington, March 4th, 1861, before taking the oath as President of the United States.

Fellow-Citizens of the United States: In compliance with a custom as old as the government itself, I appear before you to address you briefly, and to take in your presence the oath prescribed by the Constitution of the United States to be taken by the President before he enters on the execution of his office.

I do not consider it necessary at present for me to discuss those matters of administration about which there is no special anxiety or excitement.

Apprehension seems to exist among the people of the Southern States that, by the accession of a Republican administration, their property and their peace and personal security are to be endangered. There has never been any reasonable cause for such apprehension. Indeed, the most ample evidence to the contrary has all the while existed and been open to their inspection. It is found in nearly all the published speeches of him who now addresses you. I do but quote from one of those speeches when I declare that "I have no purpose, directly or indirectly to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists; I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so." Those who nominated and elected me did so with a full knowledge that I had made this and many similar declarations, and had never recanted them. And, more than this, they placed in the platform for my acceptance, and as a law to themselves and to me, the clear and emphatic resolution which I now read:

Resolved, That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depend, and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretext, as the gravest of crimes.

I now reiterate these sentiments, and in doing so I only press upon the public attention the most conclusive evidence of which the case is susceptible, that the property, peace and security of no section are to be in any wise endangered by the now incoming administration. I add, too, that all the protection which, consistently with the Constitution and the laws, can be given, will be cheerfully given to all the States, when lawfully demanded, for whatever cause, as cheerfully to one section as to another.

There is much controversy about the delivering up of fugitives from service or labor. The clause I now read is as plainly written in the Constitution as any other of its provisions:

No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

It is scarcely questioned that this provision was intended by those who made it for the reclaiming of what we call fugitive slaves; and the intention of the lawgiver is the law. All members of Congress swear their support to the whole Constitution, to this provision as much as any other. To the proposition, then, that slaves, whose cases come within the terms of this clause, "shall be delivered up," their oaths are unanimous. Now, if they would make the effort in good temper, could they not, with nearly equal unanimity, frame and pass a law by means of which to keep good that unanimous oath? There is some difference of opinion whether this clause should be enforced by national or by State authority; but surely that difference is not a very material one. If the slave is to be surrendered it can be of but little consequence to him or to others by which authority it is done. And should any one, in any case, be content that this oath shall go unkept on a merely unsubstantial controversy as to how it shall be kept? Again, in any law upon this subject, ought not all the safeguards of liberty known in civilized and humane jurisprudence to be introduced, so that a free man be not, in any case, surrendered as a slave? And might it not be well at the same time to provide by law for the enforcement of that clause in the Constitution which guarantees that "the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States"? I take the official oath to-day with no mental reservations, and with no purpose to construe the Constitution or laws by any hypercritical rules; and while I do not choose now to specify particular acts of Congress as proper to be enforced, I do suggest that it will be much safer for all, both in all, [illegible] trusting to find impunity in having them held to be unconstitutional.

It is seventy-two years since the first inauguration of a President under our national Constitution. During that period fifteen different and greatly distinguished citizens have in succession administered the executive branch of the government. They have conducted it through many perils, and generally with great success. Yet, with all this scope for precedent, I now enter upon the same task, for the brief constitutional term of four years, under great and peculiar difficulty. A disruption of the Federal Union, heretofore only menaced, is now formidably attempted. I hold that, in contemplation of universal law and of the Constitution, the Union of these States is perpetual. Perpetuity is implied if not expressed in the fundamental law of all national governments. It is safe to assert that government proper never had a provision in its organic law for its own termination. Continue to execute all the express provisions of our national Constitution, and the Union will endure forever, it being impossible to destroy it except by some action not provided for in the instrument itself. Again, if the United States be not a government proper, but an association of States in the nature of a contract merely, can it as a contract be peaceably unmade by less than all the parties who made it? One party to a contract may violate it—break it, so to speak—but does it not require all to lawfully rescind it?

Descending from these general principles, we find the proposition that, in legal contemplation, the Union is perpetual, confirmed by the history of the Union itself. The Union is much older than the Constitution. It was formed, in fact, by the Articles of Association in 1774. It was matured and continued in the Declaration of Independence in 1776. It was further matured, and the faith of all the then thirteen States expressly plighted and engaged that it should be perpetual, by the Articles of Confederation in 1778; and, finally, in 1787, one of the declared objects for ordaining and establishing the Constitution was to form a more perfect Union. But if the destruction of the Union by one or by a part only of the States be lawfully possible, the Union is less than before, the Constitution having lost the vital element of perpetuity.

It follows from these views that no State, upon its own mere motion, can lawfully get out of the Union; that resolves and ordinances to that effect are legally void, and that acts of violence within any State or States, against the authority of the United States, are insurrectionary or revolutionary, according to circumstances. I therefore consider that, in view of the Constitution and the laws, the Union is unbroken, and to the extent of my ability I shall take care, as the Constitution itself expressly enjoins upon me, that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the States. Doing this I deem to be only a simple duty on my part. I shall perfectly perform it, so far as is practicable, unless my rightful masters, the American people, shall withhold the requisition, or in some authoritative manner direct the contrary. I trust this will not be regarded as a menace, but only as the declared purpose of the Union that it will constitutionally defend and maintain itself.

In doing this there need be no bloodshed or violence, and there shall be none, unless it is forced upon the national authority. The power confided to me will be used to hold, occupy and possess the property and places belonging to the government, and collect the duties and imposts; but beyond what may be necessary for these objects there will be no invasion—no using of force against or amongst the people anywhere. Where hostility to the United States shall be so great and so universal as to prevent competent resident citizens from holding the Federal offices, there will be no attempt to force obnoxious strangers among the people that object. While the strict legal right may exist of the government to enforce the exercise of these offices, the attempt to do so would be so irritating and so nearly impracticable withal that I deem it better to forego for the time the uses of such offices.

The mails, unless repelled, will continue to be furnished in all parts of the Union.

So far as possible, the people everywhere shall have that sense of perfect security which is most favorable to calm thought and reflection. The course here indicated will be followed, unless current events and experience shall show a modification or change to be proper; and in every case and exigency my best discretion will be exercised according to the circumstances actually existing, and with a view and a hope of a peaceful solution of the national troubles, and the restoration of fraternal sympathies and affections. That there are persons in one section or another who seek to destroy the Union at all events, and are glad of any pretext to do it, I will neither affirm nor deny. But if there be such I need address no word to them.

To those, however, who really love the Union, may I not speak? Before entering upon so grave a matter as the destruction of our national fabric, with all its benefits, its memories and its hopes, would it not be well to ascertain why we do it? Will you hazard so desperate a step while there is any portion of the ills you fly from that have no real existence? Will you, while the certain ills you fly to are greater than all the real ones you fly from? Will you risk the commission of so fearful a mistake? All profess to be content in the Union if all constitutional rights can be maintained. Is it true, then, that any right, plainly written in the Constitution, has been denied? I think not. Happily the human mind is so constituted that no party can reach to the audacity of doing this. Think, if you can, of a single instance in which a plainly written provision of the Constitution has ever been denied. If, by the mere force of numbers, a majority should deprive a minority of any clearly written constitutional right, it might, in a moral point of view, justify revolution, certainly would, if such right were a vital one. But such is not the case.

All the vital rights of minorities and of individuals are so plainly assured to them by affirmations and negations, guaranties and prohibitions, in the Constitution, that controversies never arise concerning them. But no organic law can ever be framed with a provision specifically applicable to every question which may occur in practical administration. No foresight can anticipate, nor any document of reasonable length contain, express provisions for all possible questions. Shall fugitives from labor be surrendered by national or by State authority? The Constitution does not expressly say. Must Congress protect slavery in the Territories? The Constitution does not expressly say. From questions of this class spring all our constitutional controversies, and we divide upon them into majorities and minorities.

If the minority will not acquiesce the majority must, or the government must cease. There is no alternative for continuing the government but acquiescence on the one side or the other. If a minority in such a case will secede rather than acquiesce, they make a precedent which, in turn, will ruin and divide them, for a minority of their own will secede from them whenever a majority refuses to be controlled by such a minority. For instance, why not any portion of a new confederacy, a year or two hence, arbitrarily secede again, precisely as portions of the present Union now claim to secede from it? All who cherish disunion sentiments are now being educated to the exact temper of doing this. Is there such perfect identity of interests among the States to comprise a new Union as to produce harmony only and prevent renewed secession? Plainly, the central idea of secession is the essence of anarchy.

A majority held in restraint by constitutional checks and limitations, and always changing easily with deliberate changes of popular opinions and sentiments, is the only true sovereign of a free people. Whoever rejects it does, of necessity, fly to anarchy or to despotism. Unanimity is impossible. The rule of a minority, as a permanent arrangement, is wholly inadmissible. So that, rejecting the majority principle, anarchy or despotism in some form is all that is left.

I do not forget the position assumed by some, that constitutional questions are to be decided by the Supreme Court, nor do I deny that such decisions must be binding, in any case, upon the parties to a suit, as to the object of that suit, while they are also entitled to very high respect and consideration in all parallel cases by all other departments of the government; and while it is obviously possible that such decision may be erroneous in any given case, still the evil effect following it, being limited to that particular case, with the chance that it may be overruled and never become a precedent for other cases, can better be borne than could the evils of a different practice. At the same time the candid citizen must confess that if the policy of the government upon the vital questions affecting the whole people is to be irrevocably fixed by the decisions of the Supreme Court, the instant they are made in ordinary litigation between parties in personal actions the people will have ceased to be their own rulers, having to that extent practically resigned their government into the hands of that eminent tribunal. Nor is there in this view any assault upon the Court or the Judges.

It is a duty from which they may not shrink to decide cases properly brought before them, and it is no fault of theirs if others seek to turn their decisions to political purposes. One section of our country believes slavery is right, and ought to be extended, while the other believes it is wrong, and ought not to be extended. This is the only substantial dispute; and the fugitive slave clause of the Constitution, and the law for the suppression of the foreign slave trade, are each as well enforced, perhaps, as any law can ever be in a community where the moral sense of the people imperfectly supports the law itself. The great body of the people abide by the dry, legal obligation in both cases, and a few break over in each. This, I think, cannot be perfectly cured, and it would be worse in both cases after the separation of the sections than before. The foreign slave trade, now imperfectly suppressed, would be ultimately revived, without restriction in one section, while fugitive slaves, now only partially surrendered, would not be surrendered at all by the other. Physically speaking, we cannot separate—we cannot remove our respective sections from each other, nor build an impassable wall between them. A husband and wife may be divorced and go out of the presence and beyond the reach of each other; but the different parts of our country cannot do this. They cannot but remain face to face, and intercourse, either amicable or hostile, must continue between them. Is it possible, then, to make that intercourse more advantageous or more satisfactory after separation than before? Can aliens make treaties easier than friends can make laws? Can treaties be more faithfully enforced between aliens than laws can among friends? Suppose you go to war; you cannot fight always, and when, after much loss on both sides, and no gain on either, you cease fighting, the identical questions as to terms of intercourse are again upon you. This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever [illegible] their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it. I cannot be ignorant of the fact that many worthy and patriotic citizens are desirous of having the national Constitution amended. While I make no recommendation of amendment, I freely recognize the full authority of the people over the whole subject, to be exercised in either of the modes prescribed in the instrument itself; and I should, under existing circumstances, favor rather than oppose a fair opportunity being afforded the people to act upon it.

I will venture to add that to me the Convention mode seems preferable, in that it allows amendments to originate with the people themselves, instead of only permitting them to take or reject propositions originated by others not specially chosen for the purpose, and which might not be precisely such as they would wish themselves to accept or refuse. I understand a proposed amendment to the Constitution—which amendment, however, I have not seen—has passed Congress, to the effect that the Federal government shall never interfere with the domestic institutions of States, including that of persons held to service. To avoid misconstruction of what I have said, I depart from my purpose, not to speak of particular amendments, so far as to say that, holding such a provision to now be implied constitutional law, I have no objection to its being made express and irrevocable. The Chief Magistrate derives all his authority from the people, and they have conferred none upon him to fix the terms for the separation of the States. The people themselves also can do this if they choose, but the Executive, as such, has nothing to do with it. His duty is to administer the present government as it came to his hands, and to transmit it unimpaired by him to his successor. Why should there not be a patient confidence in the ultimate justice of the people? Is there any better or equal hope in the world? In our present differences, is either party without faith of being in the right? If the Almighty Ruler of nations, with his eternal truth and justice, be on your side of the North, or on yours of the South, that truth and that justice will surely prevail by the judgment of this great tribunal—the American people. By the frame of the government under which we live, this same people have wisely given their public servants but little power for mischief, and have, with equal wisdom, provided for the return of that little to their own hands at very short intervals. While the people retain their virtue and vigilance, no administration, by any extreme wickedness or folly, can very seriously injure the government in the short space of four years.

My countrymen, one and all, think calmly and well upon this whole subject. Nothing valuable can be lost by taking time.

If there be an object to hurry any of you, in hot haste, to a step which you would never take deliberately, that object will be frustrated by taking time; but no good object can be frustrated by it. Such of you as are now dissatisfied still have the old Constitution unimpaired, and, on the sensitive point, the laws of your own framing under it, while the new administration will have no immediate power, if it would, to change either. If it were admitted that you who are dissatisfied hold the right side in the dispute, there still is no single reason for precipitate action. Intelligence, patriotism, Christianity and a firm reliance on Him who has never yet forsaken this favored land, are still competent to adjust in the best way all our present difficulty.

In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The government will not assail you. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. You have no oath registered in Heaven to destroy the government, while I shall have the most solemn one to "preserve, protect and defend" it. I am loth to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battle-field and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature.

SLAVE-HUNTING IN NEW YORK.

A daring attempt was made on Saturday last, in this city, to carry off into slavery, without any legal process whatever, a fugitive from Southern oppression. The name of the fugitive was John Bell, who, with his wife and child, left the service of William Crawford, a tobacco merchant in Greenbrier County, Va., between six and seven weeks ago. They all travelled afoot until they reached this city, on Wednesday, 27th ult. Here he went about asking for assistance to "get on." Among other places he went into a store up town, where one of the clerks, after hearing his story, said he would take him to friends who would help him to get to Canada. Bell went with the clerk to a place, a description of which would very well answer for the United States Marshal's Office. Here parties were very friendly toward him, and finally induced him to go to the Northern Hotel, corner of Cortlandt and West streets. It was then a little after noon of Thursday, and he sat down at the hotel to what he deemed a princely dinner with fine liquor accompaniments.

In the course of the afternoon he assisted in putting some boards and timber up from the back yard, through a window. Afterward, one of the men who had accompanied him to the hotel—a large, stout man, with a mustache—now proposed to hire him at $20 a month, to take care of four children, and do other work about the house. He said, "You boys down South can generally fiddle and sing; can you fiddle some?" "I can play two or three tunes," was the reply. The big man said he would go and get a fiddle. He soon returned, and told John they had better go up stairs where nobody would be disturbed. The negro, accompanied by three persons, went up several stories, and finally stopped in an apartment, where, instead of the fiddle, were produced a pair of handcuffs, which the men applied to their victim, although they used no violence, and pretended to be his friends. During the night two Irishmen watched him—the porter Joe at first, until relieved by another servant named Dennis.

On Saturday afternoon the handcuffs were taken off, and one of his good friends said he was to go with them to Albany. They had made some changes in his apparel, putting on a glazed cap and different pants. A little before 3 p.m. his three friends got him into a close carriage, and accompanied him to Pier No. 13, the wharf of the steamer Yorktown, for Norfolk, telling him on the way not to attempt to look out. They arrived at their destination just about the time the Yorktown was to leave. John's suspicions, however, had been for some time aroused, and after the party had alighted and had reached the end of the gang plank, and an attempt was made to force him aboard, he caught hold of the gang plank, and with so strong a grasp that the kidnappers could not unloose him. Then he commenced to halloo, and said that they wanted to take him South and sell him, with other exclamations, which attracted the attention of bystanders, among whom was officer Armstrong, of the steamboat squad. The officer ran at once to the scene, and asked the parties if they had any papers to warrant their taking away that man. Ex-Councilman Cornelius W. Campbell said they had not, but that Lorenzo de Angelis, a deputy in the Marshal's office had the papers.

The kidnappers, finding that they were discovered, took themselves off very quickly. Indeed, they disappeared before the negro got away, though he evinced a disposition to leave the scene as soon as possible. He went off at a back or side gangway, seeming very much bewildered, and frightened half to death. The negroes about the dock shoved him along, however, and he got upon a dray, and was driven off. About ten minutes afterward, a large, stout man, with a mustache, appeared on the wharf and asked officer Armstrong if he had that nigger, and added that if he had been there, no G—d d—d crowd could have got the nigger away. The officer asked if he had the papers. The big man said no; but that they would be there, though not before the boat left.

The ex-Councilman Cornelius W. Campbell above referred to, we believe is one of the keepers of the Sons of Malta saloon, Hieman's headquarters, No. 839 Broadway. To what extent Marshal Rynders is implicated in this business, does not appear.

The immediate actors should at once be arrested. Even with a warrant, they would not have had the right to force the man on board a vessel until he had had a hearing before a United States Commissioner. But they were acting without any warrant, none of the United States Commissioners having issued any, and no affidavit was made upon which a warrant could be issued. A few months ago, a colored man named John Thomas was taken to Richmond by two Marshal's officers in this way, without any warrant or hearing of the case before a United States Commissioner.—*Tribune.*

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MARCH 9, 1861.

Correspondents will greatly oblige us by a careful observance of the following directions, viz.:

Letters enclosing matter for publication, or relating in any way to the editorial conduct of the paper, should be addressed, "Editor of the Anti-Slavery Standard, No. 5 Beekman street, New York."

Letters enclosing subscriptions, or relating in any way to the business of the office, should be addressed, "Publisher of the Anti-Slavery Standard, No. 5 Beekman street, New York."

PRESIDENT LINCOLN'S INAUGURAL.

Last Monday was the most unlucky day in the life of Abraham Lincoln, thus far. More unlucky days may be in store for him, very likely; but, up to this present time, a more untoward one can hardly have occurred in the fifty years he has lived. He has spoken, and thus dissolved the spell which his wise silence had thrown around his reputation. Having shown himself possessed, in so singular a measure, of that rarest of talents, in this country at least, the gift of holding one's tongue, he had created the opinion in men's minds that he had something to say worth hearing, whenever the time should come for opening [illegible] no honorably distinguished from those of his predecessors in spirit and in utterance. The Hour has come and gone; but the Man was not sufficient for it. The speech was made with the face turned toward the South and with both knees bowed down before the idol it worships, as have been all of those delivered from the same place for the last quarter of a century. It is only distinguished from such by the clumsiness of its construction and the vileness of its rhetoric. It is lucky for Mr. Lincoln that it was not the Constitution of the English Language and the Laws of English Grammar that he was called upon to swear to support and enforce. For he would have been forsworn on the spot before all the people. It was a paltry malice in Mr. Seward, though perhaps a natural one in his circumstances, to allow a State Paper so discreditable to his successful competitor to go forth to the world. He knew, when he read it over, that he would have whipped the youngest scholar he ever had when he kept school for such a composition.

This, however, is the least of the faults of the Inaugural. We could have wished that a public document which has been more impatiently waited for, and will be more eagerly read, in Europe than any the country has ever produced, had not been so flagrantly illiterate. But we could have forgiven the form, had the substance been such as the time demands. If it had breathed a resolute determination to maintain the rights of the North and the integrity of the Nation, at all hazards, it might have commanded a respect that would have disarmed criticism. If it had plainly set forth the encroachments of slavery upon these rights, and shown how they had culminated in the disruption of the Union, as their natural result, proclaiming his intention of checking the one and restoring the other, by the full exercise of all his constitutional power, he would have taken a position which even his enemies would have admired. He was elected by the North, in the faith that he would express Northern ideas as opposed to Southern ideas. It was supposed that there would be some appreciable difference between him and Buchanan and Pierce, discernible even on the balcony of the Capitol. Not that any one supposed he would deny the existence of the Slave-clauses in the Constitution, or propose to prohibit the recapture of fugitive slaves and repeal the three-fifths representation. But it was expected that he would make it clear that all of the Constitution that recognizes slavery must be construed in the strictest manner and with the least possible detriment to liberty. Nobody supposed that he would make the duty of executing the Fugitive Slave clause the first cardinal point of his discourse of National obligations!

Yet this is precisely what he has done. This Representative Man of the Republican party thinks it entirely immaterial whether the Constitution means that slaves shall be restored to their masters by Congress or by State action, so long as they are caught and carried back. And so he advises all and singular, wherever slaves are caught in the free States, to abide by laws they hold to be flagrantly unconstitutional as well as inhuman, and help execute them, as long as they stand on the Statute-book! We wonder whether the President imbibed this view of the Higher Law from the earlier or the later inspirations of his Prime Minister. We concede that Mr. Lincoln could not do otherwise, if he were obliged to express any opinion in the premises, than to affirm the right of the Southern Shylock to his pound of flesh, next to his victim's heart. But, we conceive, as the representative of the ideas of the North, he should have added most emphatically that the Jew must see to it that he shed no blood and cut no less nor more than a just pound of flesh,

> "————be it but so much
> As makes it light or heavy in the substance
> Of one poor scruple; nay, if the scale do turn
> But in the estimation of a hair,"

in which case that particular piece of goods is confiscated to his own personal use and behoof. In other words, that where the personal liberty of a fellow-being is at stake, all laws interfering with or endangering it should be construed in the strictest manner and all doubts given in favor of liberty. This, on the ground occupied by men, not negro-stealers at heart, who feel free to take office under an oath to support the Constitution, with that provision in it. We think Mr. Lincoln might have spared himself and his constituency the humiliation of this volunteered *kotou* at the footstool of Slavery.

While making it perfectly clear that he is as ready as any of his Democratic predecessors to act as Slave-catcher-in-Chief to the slaveholding part of the Nation, he observes a most eloquent silence on the subject of the only question openly at issue in the campaign that resulted in his election. We were told at the time of his nomination and all along through the canvass, that the exclusion of slavery from the Territories was the great practical purpose of the Republican party, as far as slavery was concerned. If slavery could only be kept within its present boundaries, it must soon die out for lack of sustenance. This was alleged by way of magnifying the almost infinitesimal sliver of anti-slavery dovetailed into the Chicago platform, so that it might become visible to the naked eye. But as the slaveholders have their eyes quite as wide open as we, they were not slow to see the same thing, and, accordingly, they raised such a storm about the poor Republicans in Congress that the majority of them were ready to whittle it down yet farther," to the little end of nothing." To open the Territory south of the old Missouri line to slavery, and even to admit New Mexico at once with the pro-slavery Constitution she was sure to bring with her, seemed but easy leaps for gentlemen to make who had been vociferous against compromises on the stump. And so Mr. Lincoln, who had so much to say in behalf of the Southern demand for the restitution of their fugitive slaves, has only this mild question and reply as to the matter on which his own election turned, and which might be supposed as vital to the North as the other to the South. "Must Congress protect slavery in the Territories? The Constitution does not expressly say." Call you that standing on your platform, and backing your friends? We fear that the Territories will stand as poor a chance at Mr. Lincoln's hands as a runaway slave, if they come across the track of his administration, if this extract from his catechism is to be taken as a specimen of his creed.

The views of Mr. Lincoln as to the mode of dealing with the refractory cotton States partake of the liberality which distinguishes the rest of his proposed policy, as it may affect them and the other slave States. He denies the fact of there being any secession at all, and expresses his intention of executing the laws of the Union in all the States, to the extent of his ability. He does not propose to invade and subdue them, nor even to deny them the privileges of the mails, unless repelled, and will not insist on the execution of the laws of the United States within the borders of the seceded States, since he is willing to dispense with the Federal Courts there. He will hold, occupy and possess the property and places belonging to the government, and collect the duties and imposts. He thinks there need be no bloodshed or violence. He does not say whether he intends recovering the places and property of the government which have been seized by the seceding States, and reinforcing the forts that are in danger. For anything that he says, he may intend carrying out the policy of Mr. Buchanan in these particulars—in which case there certainly need be no bloodshed or violence. But if he attempt to throw succors into Fort Sumter, or to recover the arms and money which South Carolina and Georgia and Louisiana have filched, he knows just what he has to expect. While we hold that the Cotton Revolution is complete, and that it is the part of true statesmanship to accept the accomplished fact, and recognize the independence of those States, before fighting, as a thing which must be done after it, we must confess to a little shame at the attitude in which the new head of a great nation stands before the contumacious and rebellious members of it, entreating them to believe that he is no better than ever were. For this is the substance of his exhortations to the seceders, to consider how much safer and better off they are, as slaveholders, in the Union than out of it.

We have not room to speak of his ready assent to the amendment to the Constitution—before he had seen it!—intended to make that instrument expressly recognize slavery, which its framers had so sedulously wrapped up out of sight; nor yet of his bold hint that the clause of the Constitution guaranteeing to the citizens of every State the privileges and immunities of citizenship in every other State might not improperly be enforced by law. This last suggestion might well undo all his good work, militating as it does with the sound policy of the Southern States, which reserve the right of torturing, banishing or executing all suspicious Northerners without any process of law at all. We do not know how this Address will be received by the party at the North that bore its author into power—especially if it be followed up by answerable acts. We think, however, it cannot fail to disintegrate the party and cause its elements to take unto themselves new shapes. That a more thoroughly anti-slavery political party will grow out of those attempts to daub with untempered mortar, we cannot doubt—supposing that they should be effectual in patching up the breach for awhile. It is inevitable, in the nature of things. And thus again, as ever in the time past, we shall see God making the ambition, the cunning, the selfishness and the wrath of man to praise him.

THE NEW ADMINISTRATION.

Mr. Lincoln's Cabinet, as confirmed by the Senate on Tuesday, is thus composed:

Secretary of State,	Wm. H. Seward, of N. Y.
Secretary of the Treasury	Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio.
Secretary of War,	Simon Cameron, of Penn.
Secretary of the Navy,	Gideon Welles, of Conn.
Secretary of the Interior,	Caleb B. Smith, of Ind.
Postmaster-General,	Montgomery Blair, of Md.
Attorney-General,	Edward Bates, of Mo.

The vote of confirmation in the Senate was unanimous except in the cases of Messrs. Blair and Bates, who were opposed by some of the Senators from Southern States. The chief contest between the compromise wing of the Republican party, led by Thurlow Weed, and the anti-compromise wing, led by Horace Greeley, turned upon the appointment of Mr. Chase. The pressure upon Mr. Lincoln to induce him not to include that gentleman among his constitutional advisers was powerful and persistent to the last. In this matter Mr. Weed was understood to reflect the views of Mr. Seward. From the Washington despatches of *The Herald* we copy as follows, leaving our readers to judge what allowances ought to be made on the score of partisanship:

"All the skill and ingenuity of Thurlow Weed has availed nothing. The fight has been going on all night, but Mr. Lincoln was too much for Weed & Co. He issued his ultimatum last night, that if Mr. Chase went out Mr. Seward must go also. If the latter remained in, Mr. Chase must also remain. From this determination Mr. Lincoln would not budge an inch; he put his foot down. Seward did not personally engage in the Cabinet muss, but had the fighting done by his squire, Weed. Weed makes no concealment of his chagrin at the appointment of Chase. Cameron evidently thinks it a rather bitter pill. Horace Greeley is striding about with the air of a conqueror. This evening he was surrounded in the hall at Willard's by a congratulatory crowd of his private friends."

The Democratic and Bell-Everett presses, which, after Mr. Seward's speech in the Senate, praised him as the great statesman of the time, one who was ready to sacrifice his party and turn his back upon himself in order to save the Union, are now denouncing him as an arch demagogue, who has deceived and betrayed those who put faith in his talk of conciliation and compromise. They say he has been frightened by the radicals of his party, and point for evidence to his votes in the Senate against all compromises save those from the House of Representatives, which they declare are a mockery and a cheat. Is it the part of a statesman, or, on the contrary, that of a mere politician, to talk so equivocally as to mystify alike his friends and his enemies?

THE COMPROMISE NOSTRUMS.

WHAT CONGRESS DID AND DID NOT.

The "Plan of Adjustment" adopted by the "Peace Conference" (see Pro-Slavery head on the first page) was received by Congress with little favor. In the Senate it was referred to a Committee, consisting of Messrs. Crittenden, Bigler, Seward, Trumbull and Thomson. The majority of this Committee (Crittenden, Bigler and Thomson) reported in favor of submitting the "Plan of Adjustment" to Conventions of the several States, as an amendment to the Constitution. It had been confidently expected that Mr. Seward would unite in this proposition, and not a little astonishment was manifested when he asked leave to submit a joint resolution as follows in his own name, in which the Senator from Illinois (Mr. Trumbull) concurred:

Whereas, The Legislatures of Kentucky, Illinois, and New Jersey have applied to Congress to call a Convention for proposing amendments to the Constitution; therefore,

Resolved, That the other States be invited to take into consideration, and express their will on the subject to Congress in pursuance of the fifth article of the Constitution.

The report of the majority was not directly acted upon, precedence being given to the Corwin Constitutional amendment, passed by the House of Representatives. (See the Resolution, and the vote of the House thereon, on the first page.) The Corwin proposition being before the Senate, Mr. Pugh of Ohio moved to amend by inserting the Crittenden proposition. Lost, Yeas 14, Nays 25. Another amendment, moved by Mr. Bingham of Michigan, and known as the Clark proposition, was lost; Yeas 13, Nays 21. Mr. Grimes of Iowa offered as an amendment the preamble and resolution of Messrs. Seward and Trumbull, printed above. Lost, Yeas 14, Nays 25. Mr. Johnson of Arkansas moved the propositions of the Peace Conference as an amendment. Lost, Yeas 3, Nays 34. The question was then taken on the original Corwin resolution to amend the Constitution, as it came from the House. The result was as follows:

Yeas—Messrs. Anthony, Baker, Bigler, Bright, Crittenden, Dixon, Douglas, Foster, Grimes, Gwin, Harlan, Hunter, Johnson of Tennessee, Kennedy, Latham, Mason, Morrill, Nicholson, Polk, Pugh, Rice, Sebastian, Ten Eyck, Thomson—24.

Nays—Messrs. Bingham, Chandler, Clark, Doolittle, Durkee, Foot, King, Sumner, Trumbull, Wade, Wilkinson, Wilson—12.

Mr. Polk was in the chair, and decided that it was carried, two-thirds having voted in the affirmative.

The Resolution thus adopted by two-thirds of the Senate and House, and assented to by President Lincoln, will go to the State Legislatures for their adoption or rejection of the amendment to the Constitution therein proposed. It remains to be seen whether three-fourths of the States will adopt it or not.

The Senate also adopted the Corwin series of resolutions, which are printed on the first page.

The Crittenden resolutions were subsequently taken up in the Senate on their own merits. The amendment proposed by Mr. Clark of New Hampshire was rejected, Yeas 15, Nays 24. Mr. Crittenden moved to substitute the propositions of the Peace Conference. Lost, Yeas 7, Nays 28. The question was then on the adoption of the Crittenden Compromise resolutions. Lost by the following vote:

Yeas—Messrs. Bayard, Bigler, Bright, Crittenden, Douglas, Gwin, Hunter, Johnson of Tennessee, Kennedy, Lane, Latham, Mason, Nicholson, Polk, Pugh, Rice, Sebastian, Thomson, Wigfall—19.

Nays—Messrs. Anthony, Bingham, Chandler, Clark, Dixon, Doolittle, Durkee, Fessenden, Foote, Foster, Grimes, Harlan, King, Morrill, Sumner, Ten Eyck, Trumbull, Wade, Wilkinson, Wilson—20.

Thus ended the efforts in behalf of Compromise in the Senate; the Corwin resolutions alone having been adopted, while every other proposition was voted down.

In the House, the Peace Conference "Plan of Adjustment" was not even considered, the efforts to bring it up failing by the operation of the rules, which could not be suspended without a two-thirds vote. The plan of Mr. Kellogg of Illinois (not differing essentially from the Gothic proposition in the Peace Conference) was voted down, Yeas 33, Nays 158. The Crittenden proposition was rejected, Yeas 80, Nays 113. The proposition recommending to the several States to request Congress to call a National Constitutional Convention (in the manner prescribed in the Constitution) was lost, Yeas 74, Nays 109. The act reported by the Committee of Thirty-three for the admission of New Mexico to the Union was laid on the table, Yeas 114, Nays 71. The bill from the same Committee to amend the Fugitive Slave law was passed, Yeas 92, Nays 82. Here it is:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, That every person arrested under the laws of Congress for the delivery up of fugitives from labor shall be produced before a Court, Judge, or Commissioner, mentioned in the law approved the 18th of September, 1850, for the State or Territory wherein the arrest may be made, and upon such production of the person, together with the proofs mentioned in the sixth or the tenth section of said act, such Court, Judge, or Commissioner shall proceed to hear and consider the same publicly, and if such Court, Judge, or Commissioner is of opinion that the person arrested owes labor or service to the claimant according to the laws of any other State, Territory, or the District of Columbia, and escaped therefrom, the Court, Judge, or Commissioner shall make out, and deliver to the claimant or his agent, a certificate stating those facts; and if the said fugitive shall, upon the decision of the Court, Judge or Commissioner being made known to him, aver that he is free, and does not owe service or labor, according to the law of the State or Territory to which he is to be returned, such averment shall be entered upon the certificate, and the fugitive shall be delivered by the Court, Judge, or Commissioner to the Marshal, to be by him taken and delivered to the Marshal of the United States for the State or District from which the fugitive is ascertained to have fled, who shall produce said fugitive before one of the judges of the Circuit Court of the United States for the last-mentioned State or District, whose duty it shall be, if said alleged fugitive shall persist in his averment, forthwith, or at the next term of the Circuit Court, to cause a jury to be impanelled and sworn to try the issue whether such fugitive owes labor or service to the person, by or on behalf of whom he is claimed, and a true verdict to give according to the evidence; on such trial the fugitive shall be entitled to the aid of counsel and to process, for procuring evidence at the cost of the United States; and upon such finding the Judge shall render judgment, and cause said fugitive to be delivered to the claimant, or returned to the place where he was arrested, at the expense of the United States, according to the finding of the jury; and if the Judge or Court be not satisfied with the verdict, he may cause another jury to be impanelled forthwith, whose verdict shall be final. And it shall be the duty of said Marshal so delivering said alleged fugitive to take from the Marshal of the State from which said fugitive is alleged to have escaped a certificate acknowledging that said alleged fugitive had been delivered to him, giving a minute description of said alleged fugitive, which certificate shall be authenticated by the United States District Judge, or a Commissioner of a United States Court for said State from which said fugitive was alleged to have escaped, which certificate shall be filed in the office of the Clerk of the United States District Court for the State or District in which said alleged fugitive was seized, within sixty days from the date of the arrest of said fugitive; and should said Marshal fail to comply with the provisions of this act, he shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and shall be punished by a fine of $1,000 and imprisonment for six months, and until his said fine is paid.

Sec. 2. *And be it further enacted,* That no citizen of any State shall be compelled to aid the Marshal or owner of any fugitive in the capture or detention of such fugitive, unless when force is employed or reasonably apprehended to prevent such capture or detention too powerful to be resisted by the Marshal or owner; and the fees of the Commissioners appointed under the act of 18th September, 1850, shall be $10 for every case heard and determined by such Commissioner.

The list of Yeas and Nays on this bill we record as follows:

Yeas—Messrs. Adams of Ky., Adrian, Aldrich, Anderson of Ky., Babbitt, Burr, Blair, Brayton, Briggs, Bristow, Burch, Burlingame, Burnham, Butterfield, Campbell, Carter, Case, Clemens, Coburn, John Cochrane, Colfax, Conkling, Corwin, Covode, Davis of Md., Davis of Ind., Delano, Dimmick, Dunn, Edwards, Ely, Ferry, Fouke, French, Gurley, Hale, Hall, Harris of Md., Hatton, Helmick, Hoard, Howard of Ohio, Howard of Mich., Humphrey, Junkin, Kellogg of Mich., Kellogg of Ill., Kenyon, Kilgore, Killinger, Lee, Longnecker, Loomis, Marston, Martin of Ohio, McClernand, McKean, McKnight, McPherson, Millward, Morehead, Morris of Pa., Morris of Ill., Nixon, Olin, Palmer, Perry, Pettit, Porter, Pottle, J. H. Reynolds, Rice, Riggs, Robinson of R. I., Robinson of Ill., Scranton, Sickles, Spaulding, Spinner, Stanton, Stratton, Thayer, Theaker, Tompkins, Train, Trimble, Walton, Windom, Wood, Woodruff—92.

Nays—Messrs. Ashley, Avery, Barrett, Beale, Bingham, Blake, Bocock, Boteler, Bouligny, Brabson, Branch, Brown, Buffington, Burnett, Carey, H. F. Clark, Clark of Mo., Conway, Craige of N. C., Dawes, Duell, Edgerton, Edmundson, Eliot, Farnsworth, Fenton, Florence, Foster, Frank, Garnett, Gilmer, Gooch, Grow, Harris of Va., Hickman, Hindman, Hughes, Hutchins, Irvine, Jenkins, Kunkel, Leach of Mich., Leach of N. C., Leake, Lovejoy, Maclay, Mallory, Martin of Va., Maynard, Millson, Nelson, Niblack, Noell, Pendleton, Peyton, Phelps, Potter, Quarles, Royce, Ruffin, Sedgwick, Simms, Somes, Stevens, Stevenson, Stokes, Tappan, Thomas, Vallandigham, Vance, Van Wyck, Wade, Waldron, Washburn of Wis., Washburn of Ill., Wells, Whitely, Wilson, Winslow, Woodson, Wright—82.

The bill, we believe, was not considered by the Senate, and so has failed to become a law. The bill from the Committee of Thirty-three, designed to enable the slaveholders to capture in the North persons escaping from the South after violating slave laws, was rejected. Yeas 47, Nays 126.

*THE NATIONAL CRISIS.**

It is very evident that this nation is brought nearer to its deliverance than ever before. Nothing can now seriously peril the true prosperity of the republic but timidity, treachery and compromise. Left to the majority of voices, even now, the clamor for the reconstruction of the old Union, upon whatever guaranties the Slave Power might demand, would be overwhelming. The united South, glad of a pretext to recede from a situation which, for them, has become one of tragic earnestness, would, of course, consent to it; the Bell-Everett, Douglas, and Breckinridge rulers, a decided majority in the North, would accept it as a return from their graves to political life; and panic-stricken Republicans, without whose aid that party could not have carried a single State, are ready enough to end the complication and uncertainty of the present by surrendering everything distinctive in their principles.

But the great national crisis has passed beyond the control of majorities. Accidents—rather let us say providences—must settle it. The enthusiasm of brave souls, the madness of the doomed advocates of wrong, precipitate the contest, and the abnormal forces of revolution arrest the constitutional movements of regular government. A minority party, strong only in an idea, to which it is only half devoted, and which it would fain slink off, accidentally in power by the providential dissensions of its foes, and by a profound popular misapprehension, commands the situation and holds the nation's fate in its hands. For, had the people believed the Democrats when they said, "*If Lincoln is elected the Union will be destroyed,*" not a State would have gone for Lincoln. Thanks to that bad character for truth and veracity which a long course of falsehoods and false promises had earned for them, the people, trusting in the light assurances of the Republicans that everything was all fair weather ahead, did not believe their accusers, even when they told the truth.

Now, the Republicans wish that the policy of the government should be determined upon the verdict of the late election; the *compromisers*, of all shades, virtually declare the late election a mistake, as indeed it was, and insist that such a policy shall be adopted as the people *would* have adopted had they known how fixed the determination of the slaveholders was to revolt in case of defeat. In other words, they appeal from a people, calmly and without forecast of all consequences expressing their opinions, to a people terror-stricken, and under the duress of threats to overthrow the government and break up the confederacy of States.

The great question now is, *What will the Republicans do?* If they succumb, as some of their trusted leaders advise, of course they abdicate political power; for although Lincoln may fill all the offices under his control with persons who gave him their votes (though, after making peace with his political foes by going over to their platform, this would be an indecent exhibition of partisan feeling), the Republican party, as such, would at once cease to have the least influence in the government. Under either its present name or any principle antagonistic to the slavery interest, it could never again obtain power. Its own self-condemnation, in acknowledging that it had made a grave mistake in its policy, and the terror of the dissolution of the Union, reinstated by its own palpable fright as a controlling political influence, would repress its feeblest attempt to assert itself in the remotest Northern State. To compromise, then, is simply to submit to annihilation; a condition rather hard for a triumphant party in the early flush of a victory that has crowned a deadly and exhausting struggle.

For the country, the present submission of the Republicans is surrendering an opportunity to strike an effective blow to deliver the land from slavery; it is the satisfaction of the conditions upon which the border slave States will remain in the Confederacy—remain in it to be the weak and petted element, and therefore to control it—remain in it to lead back the revolted Gulf States upon such terms as they may dictate, and, through them and the thoroughly demoralized and dispirited North, to extort unbounded concessions from the people, by which slavery shall become the political law, if not the actual status, of the whole country. The imperious power of slavery, grown tenfold more ambitious and insolent by such a victory, would ultimately demand the repudiation of every principle of equality, the denial of a popular representation, and the extinguishment of all the lights of civilization and knowledge.

On the other hand, if the Republicans, with a bold, firm hand, [illegible] of the crisis, they take the only chance of perpetuating their ascendancy, by excluding the political influence of twelve or fifteen States, every one of which now is, and for a long time must be, hostile to their principles. If their policy be such as to drive the border States into secession, they may surprise and forestall the entire Democratic party of the North, and disarm the hostility of the South, by accepting suddenly and decisively the very overture both have been making for months, and saying, "*No coercion; let the slave States consummate and legalize their separation,*" and thus secure the support of all the timid, the only other alternative being war—and of the commercial classes, the only other alternative being the ruin of trade. So, the Gulf States being only half in earnest, and the border States not at all in earnest in their demonstration of secession, and the Northern Democracy demanding *non-coercion* simply to compel the Republicans to *compromise*, and thus supplant them, find themselves taken at their word, and the former driven into a separation which is ultimately bankruptcy, anarchy and insurrection, and the latter effectually "hoist with their own petard" beyond the power of doing any more mischief. Such will be the political policy of firmness.

For the country, the integrity of the Republican party will be the solution of the vexed slavery question, the emancipation of twenty millions of freemen from a barbaric and aristocratic policy, dangerous to the preservation of the popular liberties, and their entrance, with a homogeneous nationality, upon a splendid career of political and industrial prosperity. The North will become what the seven Protestant provinces of Netherlands, that formed the Republic of Holland, became, the commercial mistress of the world. No longer involved in the disreputable ambitions and *filibustering* greed of the slavery propagandists, we shall strengthen our ties with the liberal and powerful nations of Europe and give and receive new advantages from the closer alliance. Becoming, indeed, as we have long falsely boasted, an asylum for the oppressed, we shall attract, as never before, crowds of emigrants from the teeming populations of the Old World. Community of interest and similarity of institutions will attach to us the colonial dependencies of Great Britain upon our frontiers; and upon each side of that natural thoroughfare half way across the continent at its greatest breadth, the St. Lawrence and the great lakes, and under the latitudes most congenial to human life, we shall build an empire under whose *ægis* the enfeebled and exhausted provinces of the South, worn out with anarchy and intestine divisions, and weakened by the struggles of races for their rights, will be happy enough to find shelter on the condition of making their whole people as free as ours. Even during the maintenance of the separation, the fact that we are foreign to the slave States will be the establishment of peace between them and us. They will still be our customers and our producers, while we, rid of all responsibility for their rights and wrongs, shall be able to buy of them and sell to them; we shall visit them and receive visits from them, effectually protected from outrage or inquisition or insult, both by their interest and disposition to let us alone, and by the power of our government to vindicate our rights.

Such are the immense interests which urge the Republican party to stand firm. Will they do so? Looking at the all-prevalent apprehension of the dissolution of the Union, an apprehension into which all our statesmen have sedulously educated the people, it hardly seems likely that they will. But yet it is astonishing how the scarecrow of disunion is diminishing under the present rapid review of the situation. Was ever a public sentiment so rapidly matured as that which, through so many voices, now demands the cutting of this Gordian Knot? We have only to wait, to have that sentiment diffused by general discussion, to make it dominant. But we cannot wait. The crisis is upon us to-day. Virginia and the Border States demand an instant and categorical answer: *Will you give us security for slavery, or let us go?* The question goes to many and many a brave heart that has forecast the whole sequence of results, and whose answer is prompt enough: *Go, then.* But it goes to many more timid minds, who are overtaken by an unexpected, and to them deplorable, catastrophe, and, educated in the school of Seward, they gasp feebly, *Everything must be sacrificed for the Union.*

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* This article, it should be understood, was written before the adjournment of Congress, and while it was yet uncertain what that body would do, and which way the new Administration would face.

The very precipitation helps us, however, in another direction, for all evasion, all diplomacy, all higgling for terms into which our *compromisers* can be inveigled is so much refusal of the demands of the Border State slaveholders for immediate concession. The difficulty of an adjustment, if we were even eager to make one, demands time, deliberation, counsel. And the imperious slaveholders, urged by a mob at home, and busily plied by the outside traitors, are liable any fine morning to go off in an inappeasable rage and light the train that explodes the *secession* mine, all dug and stored with explosives. A collision at one of the Forts in the revolted territories, followed by a popular indignation at the North demanding aid for our beleaguered garrison, will precipitate the separation, the popular feeling dividing naturally at the line between freedom and slavery.

So nearly balanced are the forces, that an accident will determine their direction. A single skirmish, an angry debate in Congress or the Conference, the leaning of the new President to this or that policy—it all hangs on a very breath. The chances are on the side of freedom, but while we write the good or evil destinies settle it, perhaps forever.

A SPEECH BY MR. SEWARD.

IT is now confidently claimed by many friends of Mr. Seward that he never intended to support any scheme of compromise inconsistent with the Chicago platform; that his talk of conciliation was merely intended to delude the pro-slavery party, check the secession movement, and secure the peaceable inauguration of Lincoln. They point triumphantly to his prompt refusal to support the project of the Peace Conference, claiming it as sufficient proof that he has never swerved, even in thought, from the doctrines with which his name has been so long identified. Other men, not less sagacious and who cannot be supposed to be influenced by personal hostility, believe and say that he deliberately intended to lead the Republican party into the slough of Compromise, but having been foiled by the firmness of the Northern masses and the unyielding determination of Mr. Lincoln, he beat a retreat in the best way he could. Which of these theories is true we will not undertake to decide; but as we have spoken of Mr. Seward's recent course with what we deemed a just severity, we will do him the justice to lay before our readers the speech which he made in Washington on Monday, just before the inauguration, from his own doorstep, to a company of citizens of the Empire State:

FRIENDS, FELLOW-CITIZENS AND NEIGHBORS: I am very deeply affected by this unexpected demonstration of affection on the part of the people of the State of New York. So many familiar faces, seen at this distance from my home, and under the circumstances which surround me, awaken memories and sympathies that I should find it difficult to describe. It is just twelve years since I came, a stranger and alone, to this Capitol, to represent the great State from which you have come in the councils of the Union. This day closes that service of twelve years—a period which now in retrospect seems so short, and yet it has filled up the one-sixth part of the constitutional duration of this great empire. At this hour I appear before you a voluntary citizen, but, God be thanked! a citizen now, as always, of the State of New York—one of yourselves—your equal—no longer bearing the responsibilities of a representative. [Here one of the Deputy-Marshals stepped forward and pinned a badge of the New York delegation to Mr. Seward's coat, amid great cheering.] My public acts throughout that long, and to me trying period, are all upon record in the journals and debates of Congress. It is almost fearful to think that they are imperishable. Looking backward upon them, I will say and maintain here, and now, that I claim for them all the merit of good motives and honest intentions. Here in this presence, before you, a fair delegation of the constituency I have served, and, in the presence of the God who is to be our common Judge, I declare that there is not one word of that record which I desire should be obliterated. Although a representative of one State only, I have been all the while conscious that I was also a legislator for all the States—for the whole Republic—and I am not ashamed to appeal to every citizen of New York and ask him to say what I have neglected. I am not afraid to appeal to every section—to the East, to the West, to the North, and to the South, equally—and to every State in every section, and to every man, to every woman, to every human being, freeman or bondsman, to say whether, in any word or deed of mine, I have done him wrong. And in labors which demanded abilities I could not claim, and trials which exacted some equanimity of temper, I have here in this capital neither received nor given personal offence. I have not one enemy in this section to forgive. I know of no one who will utter a personal complaint against me. I have done little good, indeed—far less than I have wished—but I have been sustained and supported by the people of New York with a generosity that is unparalleled. I know why this is so. The people of New York are habitually constant, and faithful to conscience, to truth, to liberty, to their country, and to their God. They have thought that I endeavored to be likewise faithful. I know their character well, and I know that, in the new emergency which our country is now entering upon, they will be equally faithful. I rely on their intelligence, and their patriotism, as I do on the intelligence and patriotism of the whole people of the United States. They will preserve the inestimable legacy of civil and religious liberty which they have received from their heroic fathers. The Administration which you have come here to inaugurate comes into power under circumstances of embarrassment and peril, never before known in the history of the Republic; but I believe I know the character and purposes of the Chief Magistrate: I believe that, while he will be firm, he will be also just to every State, and every section, and every citizen; that he will defend and protect the rights and interests, the peace and the prosperity, of all the States equally and alike, while he will practise the moderation that springs from virtue, and the affection that arises from patriotism in confederated States. Under his guidance, and with the blessing of God, I believe and trust and confidently expect, that an Administration that is inaugurated amid some distrust and painful apprehension, will close upon a reconciled, restored, prosperous, free and happy Republic. The State of New York, the greatest and most powerful of the States, will lead all other States in the way of conciliation; and, as the path of wisdom is always the path of peace, so I am sure that now we shall find that the way of conciliation is the way of wisdom.

Mr. Seward, says *The Times*, was greatly affected during the delivery of his speech, which was frequently applauded, and followed by three hearty cheers. We leave it for the present without remark, except to express the hope that the closing sentence is not to be understood as an intimation that the schemes of "conciliation" lately defeated by Congress are to be revived and promoted by the Administration.

Correspondence of The N. Y. Times.

WASHINGTON, March 5.

I happened in at Mr. Seward's to-night, just as he was replying to the address from the Illinois citizens who are in town, who called to pay their respects. I could not get near enough to hear distinctly, but caught the following significant sentiment:

"GENTLEMEN: If you want to save this Administration, and have it successful and profitable to the country, I implore you to remember that the battle for Freedom has been fought and won. Henceforth forget that Freedom ever was in danger, and exert your best influence now to save the Union. Let it not be said that the Republican party of the United States won its first, last and only victory over the dissolution of the Union."

The scene which followed when the delegation took its leave, was a touching demonstration of respect and affection entertained for Mr. Seward. Great, stalwart, grayhaired men, whose faces seemed of iron mould, gave way to tears as they shook him by the hand, and said "Farewell"—each adding some peculiar expression of his hopes and wishes for the Administration.

One man, as he came up, said:

"Governor, I want the integrity of the Republican party maintained."

Mr. Seward instantly responded: "Remember, that the way to maintain the integrity of the Republican party is by maintaining the Union. Remember, the point at which the enemy strikes is always the point where you should defend."

Mr. Lovejoy, of Illinois, standing near, interposed—"And remember that the Union is worth nothing except so long as there is freedom in it."

Mr. Seward responded: "Freedom is always in the Union."

We have no room for comment at present; we merely put these declarations of Mr. Seward on record for future reference.

A FALSE RUMOR.—Some weeks since, we gave currency to a rumor that had reached us from Great Britain, to the effect that a distinguished pastor of London, after inviting the Rev. Dr. William Adams, of this city, to preach for him, withdrew the invitation with the remark that he could not admit to his pulpit a clergyman from America who was not an open and earnest opponent of slavery in his own country. The distinguished pastor alluded to was the Rev. Mr. Binney, of London. It is now our duty to state, that we have seen a letter from Mr. Binney, in which he declares that the rumor in regard to Dr. Adams and himself is without a shadow of foundation in truth.

THE COTTON CONFEDERACY proposes to lay an impost of $100 per head on slaves introduced from States remaining in the old Union, hoping by this means to drive Virginia and Maryland into the secession movement.

Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, March 5, 1861.

THE history of the past week is so important that I will endeavor to give a connected account of that part of it which relates to the great business of Compromising. The so-called Peace Conference, or the Old Gentlemen's Convention, as *The Tribune* calls it, on Wednesday closed its labors by the adoption of the following propositions as amendments to the Constitution, which they recommended Congress to send to the people:

[As the "Peace Conference" propositions are printed at length on the first page, they need not be reproduced in this place.—*Editor.*]

Mr. Tyler immediately sent the propositions to both branches of Congress. The Senate received them at once, and made them the special order for Thursday, at one o'clock, by the votes of three Republicans—Messrs. Baker of Oregon, Dixon and Foster of Connecticut.

On the same day, the House took up the report and resolutions of the Crisis Committee of Thirty-three. First, the proposition for a National Convention was voted on and was rejected, Yeas 74, Nays 109; then, the so-called border State proposition was voted on, and that was also rejected, Yeas 33, Nays 158. The Crittenden resolutions next came up, and they, in their turn, were voted down, Yeas 80, Nays 113. The House was then brought to a direct vote upon the *declaratory resolutions* of Mr. Corwin, as follows:

[These also the reader will find on the first page.—*Editor.*]

These resolutions *were agreed to*, Yeas 136, Nays 53. The resolutions disposed of, the constitutional amendment proposed by Mr. Corwin next came up. It reads as follows: "No amendment shall be made to the Constitution which will authorize or give to Congress power to abolish or interfere within any State with the domestic institutions thereof, including that of persons held to labor or servitude by the laws of said State." Upon the first trial the vote stood Yeas 120, Nays 71. Not receiving a two-thirds vote, it failed of adoption, whereupon the House adjourned. On Thursday morning, the contest was renewed by a motion to reconsider the vote of the evening previous. The motion was carried, and, on a second trial, the constitutional amendment *was carried*, Yeas 133, Nays 65.

[For the Yeas and Nays see first page.—*Editor.*]

On Friday, the New Mexico bill came up and was *rejected* by a vote of two to one. The only other proposition which was adopted was an amendment of the Fugitive Slave law, regarded by many of the Republican members as an improvement on the existing enactment.

On Friday night, therefore, in the House, the efforts of the Crisis Committee and the border States to get up a compromise stood as follows: Crittenden resolutions, border State compromises, Adams or New Mexico proposition, all voted down. An amendment *forever* guaranteeing the present compromises of the Constitution to the South, and a modification of the slave-catching law *voted up*. On the whole, considering the terrible pressure on the members, and the demands of the South, a very decided victory for freedom. Mere resolutions amount to but little in these times, when amendments to the Constitution, and Congressional enactments which give up everything to slavery, are urged with terrible pertinacity. But let me finish the history of this compromising business. At the evening session in the House, the Speaker attempted to get in the Peace Conference propositions, but objection was made. A motion was made to suspend the rules, but it failed of success, and the Compromisers gave up in despair.

You will perceive that a large number of Republican members—65—refused to vote for the Corwin constitutional amendment. Their course should not be misunderstood. These gentlemen, every one of them, believe that we have no right under the Constitution to interfere with the institutions of a State; but they do not believe in giving to the institution of slavery a preeminence in the Constitution which no other interest or institution receives. This is their position.

In the Senate the same fate awaited all the compromise measures. Crittenden was voted down by a heavy majority; the propositions of the Peace Convention got *but seven votes*; and the proposition to call a National Convention was, I believe, voted down. The Corwin constitutional amendment, to which I have referred above, was agreed to. Fessenden, of Maine, did not vote—if he had voted at all, it would have been against it, which would have defeated it. As it was, it got *exactly* two-thirds of the votes cast. Be thankful that matters are no worse. Those who have seen what a mighty pressure has been brought to bear upon the Republican members of Congress in favor of compromise will be *deeply* thankful that the cause of freedom has suffered so little as it has, thus far, in this bitter struggle.

The Inauguration was a perfect success yesterday, in every respect. All was peace, and not an accident even disturbed the peace of the day's proceedings. The Message you have before you, and will, of course, make your own comments upon it. It certainly exhibits traces of Seward's revision in certain passages.

AVON.

A WORD FROM PHILADELPHIA.

Extract of a letter from our Philadelphia Correspondent.

LINCOLN'S administration opens well. His Inaugural is refreshing from its originality. There can be no doubt as to its authorship. "I, *Abraham*, have written it with mine own hand" is inscribed on every paragraph. Its tone is unexceptionable. It is disfigured by no cheap religion. Buchanan's messages were always disgustingly pious. The more diabolical his sentiments, the more devout his phrase. This address of Lincoln's is in pleasing contrast. Then it contains no censure of Abolitionists, nor deprecation of the anti-slavery agitation! This is a new thing under the sun! It is only the old men among us that can remember a Presidential address without this *sine qua non* of such documents.

The rhetorical infelicities of the address will be no drawback to its effectiveness. On the contrary, they will give assurance to the people that they have got a man who will do his own thinking, and his own writing; and who—perhaps—will direct, and not be directed by his Cabinet advisers.

The plain, homely, straightforward, undiplomatic style of the address will commend it to the masses, and make popularity for its author.

At any rate, it must be admitted that the first thirty minutes of Mr. Lincoln's administration have, all things considered, been very well occupied. If the remainder of his time should be as well filled up, he will leave a good record. But as "one swallow doesn't make a summer," we must wait and see. Dissolution is upon us, and abolition is looming in the distance. It may be all very well for Mr. Lincoln to say that in "view of the Constitution the Union is unbroken"; but he knows, and everybody else knows, that, in view of fact, *the* Union is dissolved. The question is—What's he going to do about it?

What he says about the Fugitive Slave law shows what Abolitionists have before them. They have much yet to do, and something to suffer, before their work will be done.

GEORGE W. CURTIS ON FREE SPEECH.

IT will be remembered by our readers, in connection with the late series of Anti-Slavery Conventions in the cities of Central and Western New York, that at Utica the Board of Directors of the Mechanics' Association voted to violate their contract, made by a duly authorized agent, renting Mechanics' Hall for the Anti-Slavery Convention. Thus, in so far as they could, did they prevent the holding of the Convention—their action stimulating the mob by which Utica was disgraced. On Wednesday evening, the 27th ult., Mr. George W. Curtis gave a lecture under the auspices of the Utica Mechanics' Association, in the course of which, we are glad to learn, the mobocrats and Board of Directors were very justly and fittingly rebuked. A correspondent, writing from Utica under date of Feb. 28, alluding to Mr. Curtis's lecture, says:

"Mr. Curtis last evening gave us a glorious vindication of the right of free speech. It was just such a sermon as this people needed. He told them that when they struck a blow at free speech they aimed a blow at the heart of the Commonwealth—whether it was done in Boston, Albany, or in Utica. I did enjoy seeing the members of the Association and the instigators of the mob writhe under his plain preaching. It was a capital thing for them to invite him here to give them the reproof they deserved.

"He said he cared not how inflammatory, seditious or untimely they might think any doctrine was, every individual had a right to express his own sentiment. Besides, who should decide what was seditious or untimely? Treason against a government was not in discussing it—that right was guaranteed by the Constitution—but in action against it, taking United States property, etc., etc. Our only safety was in free discussion."

THE CLARKSON ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

AT a stated meeting of the Clarkson Anti-Slavery Society, held at Doe Run meeting-house, Chester Co., Feb. 23, 1861, the following preamble and resolutions were adopted:

Whereas, when associations claiming to be religious unite in prohibiting freedom of speech, they contribute more powerfully than any other instrumentality to deprive us of it everywhere, and form the strongest fortification for vice to entrench itself behind; therefore,

Resolved, That it is the religious duty of all lovers of freedom of speech, to wage an uncompromising war against them—a war in which no one ought to wish to be excused until death or victory.

Resolved, That we hail the efforts now making on behalf of the South for a dissolution of the United States government, as a cheering evidence that the time of the slaves' emancipation is swiftly approaching; and we would urge, on behalf of the General government, that she do *nothing* to compel the South to adhere to the Union.

Resolved, That if the colored men of the non-slaveholding States were permitted to exercise their right of suffrage, it would hasten the abolition of American slavery.

Resolved, That the Secretary be directed to forward the foregoing resolutions to *The Lancaster Union*, *The Chester County Times*, and THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD for publication.

ESTHER KENT, Sec'y.

A GOOD MAN DEPARTED.—A letter just received from a friend in Salem, Columbiana Co., Ohio, brings the painful tidings of the death of the venerable and beloved Dr. BENJAMIN STANTON of that place. He died Feb. 27th, aged 67 years, and his remains were followed to the grave, on the first of March, by a large concourse of people, who had long revered him for his eminent moral worth. He was one of the early settlers of Salem, where, for nearly half a century, he was recognized as "the beloved physician," a friend of the poor and the unfortunate of every class, and the supporter of every moral and philanthropic enterprise. He was an unflinching Abolitionist, the early friend and counsellor of Benjamin Lundy, and his house and purse were always open to the anti-slavery lecturer and the fugitive from Southern bondage. He combined great firmness with great gentleness, and large intellectual power with rare modesty. His death has left a void which cannot be filled, not only in his family, but in the community which had so long enjoyed the benefit of his wise counsel and noble example.

THE TEST TO BE APPLIED.—We are neither a prophet nor the son of a prophet, but we venture to predict, that, not long after the Republican Marshals and other United States functionaries are fairly installed, they will be required to execute the Fugitive Slave law. The President and his subordinates will be put to the test, in order that their alacrity in the business of slave-catching may tend to reassure the affrighted slave States, and aid in "reconstructing" the broken Union. Wait and see.

Summary.

PARSON BROWNLOW says that South Carolina is in the condition of the fellow who said, "It is nothing to get married, but it is hell to keep house." It is pretty much so.

Punch, ever ready to assist all who are in difficulties, and understanding that the secession States are bothered to find a fit name for their new empire, respectfully suggests Slavonia.

WHIPPING A SLAVE TO DEATH.—At Charleston, S. C., a white woman named Hertzer, convicted of causing the death of a slave by severe whipping, has been fined $500 and imprisoned eighteen months.

While the Presidential party were dining at Erie, N. Y., a certain gentleman offered Mr. Lincoln some wine, and rather forced it upon him. Mr. Lincoln replied: "I have lived fifty years without the use of any liquor, and I do not think it worth while to change my habits now."

A lady of Charleston, who owns the table upon which the Declaration of Independence was signed, was applied to by the secession Convention to loan it so that the treasonable Declaration of Secession might also be signed on it. She indignantly refused, and said that before subjecting it to such insult she would burn it to ashes.

HARD TREATMENT OF A WORCESTER MAN.—A carriage maker of Worcester, who went South for employment, writes home that he was driven from Fernandina, Florida, after first being thrown into prison, tried and condemned to receive thirty-nine lashes. His only offence, he alleges, was that he was a native of Massachusetts.

THE BOOT ON T'OTHER LEG.—The Philadelphia *Ledger* some time since contained the following advertisement:

"Wanted, by a respectable colored family, a white boy, fourteen or sixteen years of age, to wait on the table and make himself generally useful about the house."

TOBACCO.—If there ever was a weed whose roots went down till they drew sap from below, that is it! A snuffing, smoking, chewing, spitting mixture, ought to have a church in a spittoon! He is not fit to stand in ordinary congregations, nor to live in ordinary families! He that hath ears to hear, let him hear.—*Henry Ward Beecher.*

"LOW WHITE PEOPLE."—The Mobile *Mercury*, a rabid secession sheet, which is earnestly advocating the establishment of a Southern confederacy, said in an editorial article a few weeks since:

"Slaves are constantly associating with *low white people, who are not slave-owners.* Such people are dangerous to a community, and *should be made to leave our city.*"

The Syracuse *Standard* says that while the rowdies were burning Rev. Mr. May in effigy, when the anti-slavery meeting in Syracuse was broken up a few weeks ago, the reverend gentleman was carrying provisions to the families of some of the drunken ruffians who were committing the outrage and insult, to keep their children from starving!

A NEW KING—KING CORN!—A prominent grain dealer in Philadelphia a few days since received an order from Charleston for five thousand bushels of corn. The patriotic merchant immediately replied, advising the Charlestonians to fill their bellies with cotton; that corn was plenty in Philadelphia, but they had none for traitors! We call this pretty good to come from a dirt-eating city.—*Milford (Del.) News.*

GEN. BUTLER, of Lowell, is a wit. He was in Washington the other day, and during a conversation with Southern men, one of them, a Georgian, said: "I do not believe there is an honest man in Massachusetts." After a moment's reflection, he added, "I beg to assure you, Mr. Butler, I mean nothing personal." The General responded—"I believe there are a great many honest men in Georgia, but, in saying so, sir, I do not mean anything personal."

Cotton grows well in southern Illinois, and Mrs. Frances D. Gage writes that she has seen hundreds of the farmers' wives of southern Illinois dressed in cotton of their own raising, spinning and weaving. The women come into market with their garden vegetables, or bring in berries in the summer, or nuts in the autumn, and they speak of their cotton as something they "set a heap by," and often tell you of their raising a "right smart chance;" but as it is claimed as exclusively women's work to raise the cotton, only a small spot of the garden usually is appropriated to its cultivation.

COST OF MOBS.—The owners of Convention Hall, Syracuse, in which free speech was recently trampled down by a mob, have presented to the Common Council a bill of the damages which was suffered by their property in the riot. The bill amounts to $119.60. This, added to the amount before claimed for damages done by a mob, when two houses of ill-fame were sacked, will make about a thousand dollars for Syracuse to pay for mob damages.—*Rochester Express.*

Mr. Thaddeus Hyatt publishes a card, defending himself from the charges made against him by individuals in Lawrence, K. T., of having exaggerated the amount of suffering in the Territory. He says that his assailants are moved to their efforts because of jealousy of a rival city, and of a Senatorial candidate, and on account of a stupid idea that to tell the whole truth about this Kansas famine will destroy land values and trade, and prevent immigration to the new State.

GOOD BEHAVIOR.—Mr. S. Cockburn, a gentleman of color, recently appointed to the office of President Administrator of the Government of Montserrat, refers in the following terms, in his address to the House of Assembly, to the conduct of the people: "Worthy of congratulation is the orderly conduct and peaceable demeanor of your peasantry and your laboring classes. It is a credit to the country to find that quiet and good order have been preserved for a series of years without the intervention of a police."

BIG BUSINESS.—The people of Mobile are inclined to be spiteful in a very small way, as is clearly evinced by the passage of the following ordinance by the City Council: "That the name and title of Maine street be changed to Palmetto street; Massachusetts be changed to Charleston street; New Hampshire be changed to Augusta street; Rhode Island be changed to Savannah street; Connecticut be changed to Louisiana street; New York be changed to Elmira street; Vermont be changed to Texas street; Pennsylvania be changed to Montgomery street."

CENSUS OF NEW JERSEY.—EIGHT SLAVES LEFT.—The Secretary of State of New Jersey on Tuesday presented to the Legislature an abstract of the State census. The total population is 672,031. Of these, 646,050 are whites, 24,935 free colored, and eight slaves. Of the slaves yet remaining in the State there are, in Hunterdon County, three; in Middlesex, one; in Morris, one; in Passaic, two; and in Somerset, one.

HENRY WARD BEECHER.—This distinguished divine arrived in town from the East this morning, expecting to lecture this evening before the Athenæum. After he got here, he discovered that he had made a mistake in the day of engagement by just one week. He is to lecture next Wednesday evening. He was probably somewhat mortified or perplexed by the mistake, but the fault was solely his own. The day, as fixed by himself, is the 27th inst., and on that occasion he will deliver the closing lecture of the course. A change was made by the Lecture Committee, some time since, to accommodate Mr. Beecher, and the public have been disappointed somewhat by the change made. It is no more than a fair offset that Mr. B. should suffer a slight inconvenience, as he has done in making a journey to Rochester for nothing.—*Rochester Union, Feb. 20th.*

INCIPIENT INSURRECTION PUT DOWN.—The Aberdeen *Conservative*, Miss., says an unsuccessful insurrectionary attempt was made by the negroes of a neighborhood twenty or thirty miles from Aberdeen a fortnight ago; but, fortunately, their plans were disclosed by a servant girl, who informed her master of the time and place of their meeting, and he collected a few neighbors, who secreted themselves near the place, and soon after, the negroes commenced collecting one by one. From their conversation it appears they only met on that night for consultation and to prepare to make the insurrection between this and the 4th of March. They were all captured and flogged severely; the leaders of the gang were thrashed so severely that it was thought they would die.

MEAN AND CONTEMPTIBLE.—The Mississippi members of Congress who lately retired, left a monument of meanness behind them which should perpetuate their names as a continual "awful example" of what life in Washington may lead to. They directed the officers of the two branches not to send any letters or documents to them on account of their relation to the United States government, but to get them franked by some member who does not recognize that government. That is, they will not have the packages franked with their own names, as coming from the General government, but, too small to pay their own postage, they will compromise with their honor by begging some disunion member to put his frank upon their letters and documents. If that isn't the concentration of meanness, then it would be difficult to find it.

"NORTHERN DEMOCRATIC CATTLE."—The Charleston *Mercury* pays this compliment to the representatives of the North in the late Democratic National Convention:

"It was in an evil hour that they came to the soil of South Carolina to hold their Convention for the consummation of this goodly work. The soil is not congenial to the swindler. We saw with disgust the sort of cattle representing States and parties, fourth-rate county court lawyers—what they call in Georgia jackleg lawyers—blackleg would be better; and a more impudent gang of plunderers, wire-pullers and swindlers, with few exceptions, were never before congregated together, and with such monstrous party pretensions. The claim of the Northern delegates was, in so many words, to have a platform so meaningless as to permit them to be *ad libitum*."

SALEM (OHIO) UNION SCHOOL.—In the recent report of the Board of Directors upon the condition of the school, they state that over twenty colored children were in attendance, and bear the following testimony to the general deportment of this class of pupils, and their aptness to learning:

"As far as we could discover, the colored children learned as fast, were as well behaved, and seemed as comfortable, as the whites. We saw no evidences of prejudice on account of color."

Those children ought to be proud of the praise thus bestowed; and it would also be well for their parents to bear in mind that an honest, industrious and intelligent colored man is always a living epistle in favor of equal rights.—*Bugle.*

SLAVERY IN KENTUCKY.—No rational man does or can entertain a doubt that Kentucky, if she secede from the Union, will, by the speedy operation, be drained of her slaves—that there will be upon her soil, at the end of two or three years at furthest, no slaves except those who, from their helplessness, will be a burden to their owners.

Men clearly see all this, and they are preparing for it. A great many are making arrangements to quit Kentucky with their slaves, in the event of her secession, and to establish themselves further South, where slave stampedes into free territory will be less easy. Men have deposited money in our banks, stating that they will have no occasion for it if Kentucky remains in the Union, but that, if she shall secede, they will need it to purchase and open Southern plantations.

Every Kentuckian who advocates secession is, consciously or unconsciously, an enemy of his State, and the very worst and most pestilent kind of a practical Abolitionist.—*Louisville Journal.*

A PROSPECTIVE STAMPEDE.—*The Richmond Enquirer* has private advices from different parts of the State, which inform it that a large number of the largest slaveholders in Virginia are already making preparations for an exodus. We have, ourselves, reliable information to the same effect. When this prospective stampede shall once become general and actual, none can predict the extent to which it will be carried. Some opine that some of our largest and most flourishing agricultural districts will be left as desolate as the wilderness of Jamaica. Even if it shall fall far short of this, it will still involve incalculable damage to all our interests. These large slaveholders comprehend a large quota of the very flower of our population—representing much of the wealth, talent, virtue, and commanding influence of the State. They will carry away from us millions of property. They will carry away from us what is far more valuable to the State than property—thousands and tens of thousands of busy hands, which now constitute the *productive labor* of the State.—*Richmond Dispatch.*

THE MISSISSIPPI STARVATION.—That the reports of starvation in Mississippi were not unfounded, is proved by the following remarkable statement from the Brandon (Miss.) *Republican*:

"Major Hankins is now on his way to the Western States to buy corn, as agent for his friends and neighbors. He showed us a list of those who had requested him to purchase for them, and also a list of those who were in a destitute condition and compelled to ask the citizens of the Western States, through him, to give them corn to keep them and their families from starving. The two lists comprised two hundred and seventy-nine names, wanting from twenty to five hundred bushels, and amounting in all to twenty-four thousand, seven hundred and thirty-six bushels. Most of those sending are responsible men, but they cannot raise money to pay for it; and it is the intention of Major Hankins to lay the facts before those who have corn for sale, and to try to induce them to sell corn on credit until next fall."

A SCENE.—An interesting incident transpired in the Lower House of the Legislature of Alabama on February 7. Mr. Clitherall, in the course of his remarks denouncing the Stay Law, just passed by the Legislature, took occasion to say that, had he supposed such a measure would become a law, he should have preferred to live four years under Mr. Lincoln's rule. This elicited a hiss from some member, and Mr. Clitherall retorted by observing that if the gentleman who hissed would show himself, he would put his mouth in such a condition that he would not repeat the operation for a week to come. Thereupon Mr. George G. Henry, of Mobile, arose from his seat, and stated that he was the identical individual, and that he held himself responsible for the method in which he had disapproved of Mr. Clitherall's remark. The next moment, he was dodging an inkstand which that gentleman launched at his head. As the combatants were about coming to close quarters, the bystanders separated them.

HOW THEY DID IT.—We have the name of one lad, thirteen years of age, who signed his name to the Crittenden petition seven times; another lad told us that he signed the name of Henry Ward Beecher to the petition, as though it was a very clever joke; and another individual boasts that he signed fourteen times. Hundreds of persons have called upon us and stated that they signed because they were informed that it was simply a petition for the preservation of the Union. One canvasser tells us that he went to a large manufacturing establishment, and requested permission of the proprietor to solicit the signatures of his workmen; the proprietor was friendly to the project, but said he could not interrupt the men at that time, but if the solicitor would write down the names he would read them off the pay roll, as he thought all his men were in favor of sustaining the Union. He accordingly did so, and four hundred and sixty-three names were added to the list. All that Mr. Sumner said in regard to the signatures is more than substantiated.—*Boston Atlas.*

THE SOUTHERN SLAVE TRADE BILL.—The Confederate Congress has just passed "A bill in relation to the slave trade, and to punish persons offending therein." It is a curious affair, extorted partly from a wholesome dread of the consequences of restoring a traffic long since denounced as piracy by governments able and willing to enforce that doctrine, and partly from a hope that the border States would accept it as a special boon, for which they could do no less than join the man-buyers of the Cotton Kingdom. The law provides that no slaves shall be imported except from the slaveholding States of the United States of America, and that any ship making such forbidden importations shall be confiscated, one-half its value going to the prosecutor and one-half to the Confederate treasury. Ships caught in fitting out for slave trading are to be confiscated in the same manner. The penalty for individuals actually caught with contraband slaves is fixed at from ten to twenty years imprisonment, or $1,000 to $5,000 fine, or both fine and imprisonment. Any person knowingly buying a person not legally a slave, may be fined as above, but not imprisoned. Persons caught in fitting out slavers may be fined in the same manner, and imprisoned for not more than five years.

NEW MEXICO.—We have some interesting intelligence from this Territory, which we trust will be carefully pondered by any gentleman in Congress who is in a hurry to free it of all immediate dependence on the Federal government and set it up in business as a State.

In the Southern portion of the Territory, known as Arizona, for which we have just paid ten millions in hard money, the secession rebellion is in full blast. Sheriff Jones, formerly renowned in Kansas, who was rewarded for his services there by President Pierce with the office of Collector of Customs at El Paso, and the Hon. Mr. Mowry, take the lead in the enterprise of resuming their reserved rights, seceding from a Union where their peculiar institutions are not respected, and creating a new member of the Confederate States of America. They are holding public meetings all over the Territory for this purpose, and, with the help of Texas and of General Twiggs, may perhaps hope to succeed.

The Legislature of New Mexico has passed a bill ordering a Territorial Convention to form a Constitution, preparatory to asking for admission to the Union. The election is to be held in May next, the Convention to meet in June, and the Constitution to be submitted to the people at the October election, when a new Legislature and a Territorial delegate to Congress are to be regularly chosen.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT AT ALBANY.—Those who have listened to the debate in our Assembly on the death penalty this winter, are struck with the strength of argument developed by the opponents of the gallows, and not less by the evident progress of public sentiment in the right direction. A majority of the serious, thinking men of the House are evidently opposed to the gallows. But whether there is sufficient force to pass Mr. Angel's bill through the Assembly and Senate, is yet to be tried.

It has been conclusively proved by the written testimony of the authorities of Michigan, Wisconsin, and Rhode Island, that the experiment has been entirely successful in those States—nearly twenty years in Michigan. Another fact has been brought out. Quite a large number of persons are in our State prisons under conviction for murder in the first degree; and it is stated by the officers of the prisons that they are the best behaved persons under their charge, and, in several cases, a more intelligent examination of the evidence adduced on their trials has created very serious doubts of their guilt.

From our information, we believe the Legislature will at least retain the present law, with some slight but, perhaps, necessary amendments. The people demand it. Moderate opponents say it is no more than right to give the experiment a fair trial.—*Cor. Tribune.*

A SCANDALOUS SPEECH.—Albany, March 1, 1861.—Mr. Lawrence read in the Senate to-day a printed speech on national politics, which would have made the bones of his Quaker ancestors rattle in their coffins, if bones only had the sense of hearing. It was the most recreant tirade against the people of the North to which I have ever listened. Mr. L. avowed himself in favor of what he called the right of secession, justified the traitors who have defied the government and stolen its property, and insisted that it was the duty of the Republicans to grant everything that the rebels demand, and then put on sackcloth and ask forgiveness for having elected a President of their choice. It may give the public some idea of this extraordinary speech to say that it made Frank Spinola blush that it should come from a Democratic Senator. Nobody supposed, before, that Frank had a blush left in him. Another Democratic Senator made the remark that the speech was evidently intended for the Louisiana market; referring, doubtless, to the fact that Lawrence has two brothers in the sugar-growing State who are violent Secessionists, and that he talks of emigrating to that State himself.—*Cor. Tribune.*

A DOCTOR CAMPING OUT IN A SNOW STORM.—Dr. Harold H. Pope was on his way to see a patient in Verona, early on Thursday evening, and was overtaken by the storm in all its fury. Owing to the drifted roads at some points, the path had been moved to the adjoining fields. All traces of the track were, however, soon obliterated, and nothing could be seen, at times not even the horse's head. The doctor could not find his way out of these fields, and his horse finally became so completely confused that he refused to budge an inch in any direction. Here was a dilemma, but Dr. Pope was equal to the emergency. Instead of wasting his vital energies in useless attempts to extricate himself, he prepared to camp on the spot for the night, in the following manner. He disengaged his horse from the cutter, and took off his harness; he then took one of the two buffalo robes he had with him, and put it on his horse, and then replaced the harness, buckled it on, and made it all safe. He then tied the horse fast to a tree. The doctor then turned his cutter up sideway, so as to make a barricade against the storm, and, wrapping himself up in the remaining robe, lay down under the protection of his cutter, and so spent the night. We learn that the doctor suffered some damage in his feet from the frost; but when the morning sun dispelled the storm, and he discovered his bearings, he hitched his faithful steed once more to the cutter, and made the visit to his patient as if nothing had happened. Presence of mind and great power of endurance saved our medical friend from great suffering and perhaps from death.—*Rome (N. Y.) Citizen.*

CONCESSION.—P. and W. met on Main street the other day, just after a fresh batch of "Crisis" news had come in, and says P.:

"I have been studying hard to think what concessions we can make to the South more than we have already made. We have conceded everything demanded, and everything imaginable. We have granted all they asked of us politically, and as to social compromises, we have sent them preachers to tar and feather—we have sent them 'schoolmarms' to insult and imprison; we have—in fact, I don't know what we could do for them that has not been done, and overdone."

"But I have thought of one more concession I suppose we might make," says W.

"And what is that?" anxiously demands P.

"You observed the item in this morning's paper, that they barrelled up an Abolitionist, and rolled him into the Mississippi river the other day?"

"Yes—well?"

"Well, if that thing is to be continued, it will cost them considerable for cooperage. Don't you think we ought to make one more concession, just for the sake of fraternal peace, and—furnish them with barrels?"—*Xenia (Ohio) News.*

DOUGLAS IMPLORING LINCOLN.—The Washington correspondent of the Philadelphia *Press* says:

"Mr. Douglas called upon Mr. Lincoln on Wednesday night at Willard's Hotel, and told him that he sought an interview at the risk of being misunderstood, but that the critical condition of the country required every friend of the Union to lay aside partisan feeling and personal delicacy. He had just learned that there was imminent danger, that the Peace Conference would dissolve without agreeing upon any basis of adjustment. In that event, he apprehended that the border States might resolve promptly to secede from the Union, before any plan could be matured for referring the matters in dispute to the people of the several States. A fearful responsibility would rest upon the President elect if the Union were dissolved under his administration, unless he did everything in his power to save the country from such a catastrophe. That Mr. Lincoln alone could now save it. He implored him to speak to his friends in the Conference, and save the country. Mr. Douglas did not desire Mr. Lincoln to explain his views, then to him, but to speak promptly and unequivocally to his own friends. Twenty-four hours more and it might be too late. He reminded Mr. Lincoln that he had children as well as Mr. Douglas, and implored him, 'in God's name, to act the patriot, and to save to our children a country to live in.' Mr. Douglas said to Mr. Lincoln that he was now, as heretofore, his political opponent, and expected to oppose the political measures of his administration, but assured him that no partisan advantage should be taken, or political capital manufactured, out of an act of patriotism which would preserve the Union of these States. Mr. Douglas added that he had now performed his duty, and asked Mr. Lincoln to perform his."

DEPARTURE OF EMIGRANTS FOR HAYTI.—The brig Mary A. Jones, Capt. Lavender, sails to-day for Hayti, having been chartered by James Redpath, the agent of the Haytien government, to carry emigrants to that country. On this occasion she carries forty colored emigrants, who go out at the expense of the Haytien government, with a view to planting a colony for the raising of cotton. Nineteen of them, comprising four families, are refugees from Charleston, S. C., who came on from New York yesterday. Among them is Capt. Onddick, a well known pilot of Charleston, who left behind some property which he could not dispose of. He is accompanied by his wife and her mother, who is 85 years old. Mr. W. E. Berry, another of the Charleston emigrants, a carpenter by trade, is a man of much intelligence. The other emigrants comprise one family each from Boston, Connecticut and Rhode Island, besides single persons. Nearly all have lived at the South, and are acquainted with raising cotton. Besides these, six white passengers go out for health or business, and three colored passengers with the intention of settling. One of the last named, William Thomas, of Boston, is a good carpenter. Several gentlemen and ladies will go down the harbor with the vessel, and religious services will be held while on the way.

It will be remembered that sixty emigrants were sent out by Mr. Redpath a few weeks ago. The Mary A. Jones is expected to go out with another colony immediately after her return from this voyage.—*Boston Traveller, Feb. 27.*

THE OTHER "ABOU-BEN-ADHEM."—The following ingenious and witty parody of a poem universally known, is from a feminine pen. The last and somewhat malicious allusion to "rye" refers, we suppose, to the President's letter to some Western friends, acknowledging, with thanks, the receipt of some excellent rye whiskey:

James Buchanan, may his tribe decrease,
Awoke one night from a strange dream of peace,
And saw, within the curtains of his bed,
Making his other eye to squint with dread—
Old *Jackson*, writing in a book of gold;
Exceeding rye had made Buchanan bold,
And to the stern ex-President he said,
"What—what writ'st thou?" The spirit shook his head
The while he answered, with the voice of old,
"The names of men who ne'er their country sold!"
"And is *mine* one?" asked J. B. "*Nary!*" cried
The General, with a frown. Buchanan sighed,
And groaned, and turned himself upon his bed,
And took another "nip" of "rye," then said,
"Well, ere thou lay thy record on the shelf,
Write me, at least, as one who *sold himself!*
'Democs' and 'rye' so long my spirits woo,
That when the 'crisis' came—I wasn't there!"
The General wrote, and vanished. The next night
He came again, in more appalling plight,
And showed the names that all *true men detest*,
And lo! Buchanan's name *led all the rest!*

A WHITE SLAVE RETURNED.—A slave was recently sent back from Illinois, who claimed to be wholly white, and had every appearance of being so. The Cairo (Illinois) *Gazette* gives the following account of the affair:

"Last Thursday, a fugitive slave named Henry Lee, alias Henry Jones, the property of Mr. W. C. Faulkner, of Tippah County, Mississippi, was arrested by Marshal Shrader, in Mound City, and delivered over to the custody of his master. Mr. Lee, alias Mr. Jones, thinks he is a white man, and if the matter were to be determined wholly by color and appearance, some folks might join him in the conclusion. He says that his parents were white; that they, dying when he was very young, left him in charge of a slaveholder in Alabama, who raised him in slavery, and taught him to believe that he was a mulatto. He further claims that his name was changed so that his relatives might never seek to reclaim him from bondage. When he left his master in Mississippi, last November, he persuaded another slave to run off with him, and stole a horse and buggy to facilitate their escape. After travelling thirty or forty miles, he concluded the company of the other slave, who was a black, might lead to his arrest; accordingly he abandoned him, and finally turned the horse loose in the woods, left the buggy by the roadside, and continued his way alone on foot. The negro and other property were finally recovered by the owners. He arrived at Mound City six or eight weeks ago, and secured employment at the Marine Ways. He was generally recognized as a white man, and by some was thought a 'magnificent fellow.'"

THE UNDERGROUND RAILROAD.—The Rev. W. M. Mitchell of Toronto, has published in England a book on this subject.

If Mr. Mitchell's statistics be correct, no less than twelve hundred slaves are annually conveyed into Canada; though we cannot but be incredulous as to the amount. They are taken from one friend to another, and only by night, until the borders of Canada are reached. Six to twelve miles are the ordinary journey of a single night. Of course, such a system must embrace a great many persons, and have an organization not unlike that of a postal department. In Canada it is estimated that there are now forty-five thousand fugitive slaves from the United States. The negroes are a gregarious race, and they are disposed to settle in villages and towns, and to cling together. They are said to be better farmers than the Irish, or even the Canadian French. The thousand fugitive slaves in Toronto wash linen, make shirts, are blacksmiths, bricklayers, carpenters, shoemakers, painters, etc. There are six colored grocers in the town, and there is one colored physician. One fugitive slave is worth a hundred thousand dollars. But the headquarters of the negro race in Canada is Chatham, on the Thames. Of its population of six thousand, two thousand are colored. Of the material prosperity, as well as the moral worth of the negro race in Canada, we have conflicting accounts; naturally enough, as each man's report is colored by his prepossessions. An accurate and unbiassed statement of their moral, social, material and sanitary condition would be of considerable value. We should be surprised to learn that this tropical race throve well in the rigorous climate of Canada.—*Boston Courier.*

REPUDIATION AND BEGGARY.—It is put forth as a cheering evidence of the high civilization to which the Indians have attained, that the Cherokee nation owes a debt on which it is unable to pay the interest. The debt is admitted; it is the interest only which gives trouble. Mississippi reached a far higher position in the scale of civilization years ago, when she repudiated not only interest, but the debt itself. She now proposes to borrow $2,000,000 to help roll on the ball of secession. We think the interest is to be seven per cent., but it might as well be seventy. Who wants to lend? At the same time we see it stated that the people of eight counties in that State are now starving for bread, being destitute of corn and wheat, owing to the last year's failure of the crops, and that a messenger has been dispatched to Ohio and Illinois to beg food for this famishing people. Their granaries are empty, and they are destitute of money to buy. What a community to be taxed to pay the expenses of secession! What a commentary this state of things is on the wilful blindness and perverse temper of the demagogues who are leading that State on the high road to destruction! Borrowing money on Mississippi bonds! The farce is broad enough for South Carolina, but for Mississippi to undertake the circulation of such stuff while millions of her repudiated obligations are still in existence, taxes credulity to its utmost. If this expedient is the first that rebellion has to adopt, what may be expected to be the last, but a repetition of the old villany of repudiation!—*Tribune.*

DR. BELLOWS.—A correspondent of the Boston *Congregationalist*, who attended Rev. Dr. Bellows's church in New York on a recent Sabbath morning, writes as follows: Near the close of the sermon, he alluded to the "vexed question" briefly, but in a strain that I have seldom seen surpassed. He held up a volume recently published by Rev. Dr. Seabury of this city, showing that slavery is in accordance with the law of nature, nations, and God. He awarded to the author all deserved praise for candid and gentlemanly tone, but met his argument with a counter argument, veiled under a masterly sarcasm. He reviewed the wonderful ways of Providence in bringing the negro under the missionary influence of American slavery, and spoke of the consolation it must afford him to know that the Rev. Mr. Seabury had proved that there was no such thing as property in man—that the master did not own the slave, but only his labor. "He may buy him, whip him, sell his wife and children, take all his earnings, starve his soul, treat him just as he likes, with only such limitations as are put by law upon a man's treatment of his horse and cow, but, oh, blessed independence! he don't own him! because he can't!" Throwing off the garb of pleasantry, he warmed into eloquent earnestness, and affirmed that the more Christian and candid the tone, the more brutal and abominable seemed the thing; "for it is as if God, and Christ, and the Bible, and right, were become the jailers of outraged humanity." It was good to hear such words spoken to such a community.

THE RIGHTS AND WRONGS OF WOMAN.—Last evening, Miss Anna E. Dickinson, a young Quakeress, who is "tall and young and fair, and speaks Romanly," delivered a lecture in Concert Hall, on Women's Rights. Her fame has hitherto been mostly confined to Chester County; but, inasmuch as moderate eloquence will make a woman celebrated, she bids fair to become widely known.

Miss Dickinson was plainly dressed, and has the air of one who can honestly utter the words, "A charge to keep I have." She was introduced by Mrs. Lucretia Mott, who expressed her confidence in the final success of the movement. The manner of the speaker was bristling, at first, and there was a lack of coherence; but as she warmed into her subject, she really made a speech that many a popular speaker might have been proud of. She went over the main points usually discussed, bringing in many anecdotes. As to the enlargement of woman's sphere, she said of female physicians, that since it was so glorious for Miss Nightingale to care for sick soldiers, it certainly was decent for women to attend their sick sisters as physicians. As to women voting, she said a woman could go among a crowd of men to pay her taxes; but she is to be considered indecent if she goes to the polls with the same men standing before and behind her. As to woman's turning lawyer, she said: "Your lawyers say they could not be so rude as to use the same strength of argument against a female lawyer that they would against one of their own sex; and yet they will cross-question and brow-beat the most refined lady witnesses, past all endurance. None but a woman can understand all the motives which prompt to some kinds of female criminality—let woman at least be tried by a jury of her peers."

When, finally, she came upon the subject of prostitution, one could not but admire her innocent and pure. She stood there in the strength of purity and handled well and clearly a subject which it is so difficult for a young woman to handle in public. It was the old story of Una and the lion. The great and bitter cry of her fallen sisterhood—as an iron had entered her soul, rousing it to a state of commiseration that lifted her above all thought of what the world would say of her. This inner utterance was truly quiet—there was less attempt at oratory than there had been—but it was powerful. Any disposition toward tittering in the audience was fairly cowed by her clear, earnest utterance of her awful statistics.—*Philadelphia Evening Bulletin, February 28.*

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Receipts for The Standard from Feb. 1 to March 1, 1861.

1131	Thomas Lincoln, Dennysville, Me.,	$2 00
1016	B. S. Rotch, Berlin, Mass.,	2 25
1040	John A. Andrews, Boston, Mass.,	1 00
1133	Mrs. Josiah Quincy, Jr., Boston, Mass.,	2 00
1080	Daniel F. Child, "	2 28
1050	Dr. Luther Parks, " "	1 75
1126	James M. Aldrich, Fall River, "	2 00
1096	Albert M. Chase, Canton, "	2 00
1128	Samuel Barrett, Concord, "	2 00
1061	Thomas Chapman, Saxonville, "	2 00
1040	Richard Plumer, Newburyport, "	2 00
1100	T. Pendergast, "	2 00
1108	S. L. Drake, Springfield, "	2 00
1078	Thomas Maudell, New Bedford, "	2 00
1079	James Arnold, " "	1 50
1092	Deborah Spooner, Plymouth, "	2 00
1092	H. N. Spooner, " "	2 00
1076	David Tenney, Manchester, "	2 00
1093	J. Southwick, Granville, "	1 50
1092	P. W. Morrell, " "	2 00
1096	Charles E. Jenkins, Harrison Square, Mass.,	4 00
1131	Female Anti-Slavery Society, Plymouth, "	10 00
1124	Seth Hunt, Northampton, "	2 00
1115	Edwin Wilbur, Little Compton, R. I.,	2 00
1073	Rev. Henry Dieby, New Haven, Conn.,	2 00
1104	R. Owen, Conewango, N. Y.,	2 00
1129	Mrs. Geo. Ames, Oswego, N. Y.,	2 00
1036	L. R. Gifford, Easton, "	2 00
1112	D. J. Starbird, Poruville, "	2 00
1125	Thomas Wallace, Cornwall, N. Y.,	2 00
1073	A. D. Wright, Deer River, "	2 00
1092	Rev. S. J. May, Syracuse, "	2 00
1105	E. J. Johnson, Oswego, "	4 00
1144	Hon. G. Smith, Peterboro, "	5 00
1104	Mrs. E. Reed, Cazenovia, "	1 00
1104	P. de Clerq, " "	1 00
1112	T. Dorming, Mexico, "	2 00
1096	E. O. Beals, New York City,	6 00
1094	Dr. West, "	1 00
1092	Mrs. Isabella Stewart, New York City,	2 00
1079	M. B. Bryant, "	1 50
1079	Rev. Geo. T. Noyes, "	2 00
1129	Samuel W. Ainsworth, "	2 00
	Mrs. S. B. Shaw, for seven subs., N. Shore, L. I.,	9 00
1141	Rev. B. Neall, Mount Holly, N. J.,	2 00
1126	Mrs. J. G. Dirney, for M. L. T., Rochester, N. Y.	1 00
1094	A. G. Campbell, Newark, N. J.,	4 00
	L. Beebe, Wellsboro, Pa.,	2 00
1130	Rachel Lukens, Three Tons, Pa.,	2 00
1133	Mrs. D. R. Tilden, Cleveland, Ohio,	2 00
1134	Mrs. Angeline Schnil, Cleveland, Ohio,	2 00
1126	A. H. Searing, Oberlin, "	2 00
1133	Wm. Parker, Redford, Mich.,	2 00
1132	Bright Leslie, Clinton, Iowa,	2 00
1132	Wm. Wentworth, Clinton, Iowa,	2 00
1130	P. Posey, St. Paul, Minn.,	2 00
	Miss Clemesha, Lancashire, England,	2 64

Donation.

Martha Smith, Plainfield, Conn.,	25 00

Collections for Tract Fund, by Caroline F. Putnam.

West Cambridge, Mass., Mrs. Jas. O. Schouler,	1 00
W. C. Currier,	1 00
Fall River, Mass., Nath'l B. Borden,	2 00
Ladies' Fugitive Aid Society,	1 00
Miss S. D. Harris,	1 00
Others,	0 45
Salem, Mass., Mrs. Lucy G. Ives,	1 00
Barnstable, Mass., Mrs. Alice H. Easton Thacher,	1 00
Others,	0 35
Dennis, Mass., Mrs. Lane,	1 00
Others,	1 55
Harwich, Mass., Friends,	2 80
Osterville, Mass., Friends,	4 00
Hyannis, Mass., Mrs. Sylvester Baxter,	1 00
Others,	2 20
Centreville, Mass., Capt. Lewis Crosby,	1 00
Mrs. Ferdinand G. Kelley,	1 00
Mrs. Russell Marston,	1 00
Franklin, Mass., Rev. Wm. Thayer,	1 00
Others,	1 43
Warren, Mass., Miss Sally Putnam,	1 00
Southbridge, Mass., Friends,	0 85
Valley Falls, R. I., Mrs. Jane C. Chase,	1 00
Mrs. E. F. Dexter,	0 25
Manville, R. I., Mrs. A. Carter,	0 25
East Greenwich, R. I., G. W. T. Allen,	1 00
Miss Mary Casey,	2 00
Thos. R. Tilley,	1 00
Others,	4 45
Washington, R. I., Caleb Elton,	2 00
Mrs. Jane Kilton,	1 00
B. H. Horton,	1 00
Mrs. Whitman,	1 00
Others,	1 25

Collections by Aaron M. Powell.

Pleasant Valley, N. Y.,	1 16
Homowack, "	1 49
Ellenville, "	2 83
Milton, "	0 62
John Young, Milton,	0 49
Edmund Willetts, Roslyn, L. I.,	1 00
West Winfield, N. Y.,	1 75
Messrs. Hitchings, West Winfield, N. Y.	0 76
Canastota, "	8 61
Fairfield, "	1 14
G. W. Cole, Fairfield, N. Y.,	1 00
Mrs. V. Rice, "	1 00
T. A. Rice, "	0 25
L. L. Kelsey, "	1 00
Middleville, N. Y.,	2 26
Poland, "	1 00

Collections by Susan B. Anthony.

Buffalo, N. Y.,	48 93
Lockport "	16 77
Albion, "	3 67
Rochester, "	42 61
Utica, N. Y., J. Anna Rice $1, Job Porter $3, J. C. Long $5, Thos. Williams $5, others 95c.	14 95
Rome, N. Y.,	4 89
Cortland, N. Y.,	16 75
Oswego, "	6 70
Port Byron, N. Y., J. Mitchell $5 25, A. A. Armstrong $2, Robt. Sawyer 50c., others $4 90,	12 65
Auburn, N. Y.,	16 00
Albany, N. Y., Gerrit Smith $10, D. Harrower $2 50, B. R. Wood $3, Wm. A. Deitz $6, Mrs. Badgely $1, Susan Greenwood $1, Lydia Mott $5, S. B. Anthony $5, others 68 29,	100 79

Special Notices.

A stated meeting of the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society will be held at the Anti-Slavery Office, on 5th day, p.m., the 14th inst., at 3½ o'clock.

Advertisements.

BOOKS FOR THE TIMES.

A Depository for Anti-Slavery and kindred publications has been opened in Albany, at 15 Steuben street, a few steps from the Delavan House. Among the works kept on sale at the Depository are The Speeches and Writings of W. Lloyd Garrison, The Sermons, Lectures and Speeches of Theodore Parker; Congressional Speeches and other Discourses by Gerrit Smith; Sermons, Lectures and Essays of Rev. George B. Cheever, D.D.; Travels in Texas and the Slave States, by Fred. Law Olmsted; The Impending Crisis, original work and compendium, by H. R. Helper; The Life of Captain John Brown, and other works by Redpath; The Morality and Sermons of Rev. Dr. Channing, Isaac T. Hopper, a True Life, by Lydia Maria Child.

Also, the Speeches and Writings of Horace Greeley, Alvan Stewart, Lysander Spooner, John G. Whittier, [illegible], Wendell Phillips, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Frederick Douglass, William Goodell, George M. Stroud, C. C. Burleigh, W. H. Burleigh, Lydia Maria Child, A. D. Mayo, Harriet Beecher Stowe, James Russell Lowell, Henry Ward Beecher, John Quincy Adams, W. H. Seward, Charles Sumner, Joshua R. Giddings, Cassius M. Clay, William Jay, Samuel J. May, W. H. Furness, Lovejoys, Beriah Green, E. H. Chapin, Geo. W. Curtis, &c.

Friends of the cause, and the public generally, are invited to call.

LYDIA MOTT, Agent.

Miscellaneous Department.

THREE ROSES.

BY ADELAIDE PROCTOR.

Just when the red June Roses blow,
She gave me one—a year ago.
A Rose whose crimson breath revealed
The secret that its heart concealed,
And whose half shy, half tender grace
Blushed back upon the giver's face.
A year ago—a year ago—
To hope was not to know.

Just when the red June Roses blow,
I plucked her one—a month ago;
Its half-blown crimson to eclipse,
I laid it on her smiling lips;
The balmy fragrance of the south
Drew sweetness from her sweeter mouth.
Swiftly do golden hours creep—
To hold is not to keep.

The red June Roses now are past,
This very day I broke the last—
And now its perfumed breath is hid,
With her, beneath a coffin lid;
There will its petals fall apart,
And wither on her icy heart—
At three red Roses' cost
My world was gained and lost.

SYRIAN SILK AND SILK-REELING.

Did you ever, in the streets of London, observe some of the retinue of the Turkish ambassadors with gaudy silk *boshews* or handkerchiefs girt round their heads, or rich shawls encircling their waists? Both these are mostly the produce of Syrian labor; for, of a truth, silk is the staff of life to all classes and creeds inhabiting that land, from the ancient shores of Tyre, over Lebanon, right away to the fertile and lovely plains of Antioch. A universal patron saint amongst all these people would be that stout-hearted old monk—if they had ever heard about him, which they have not—who, with hollow staff in hand, well piled up with silk-worm eggs, at risk of life, wended his weary way from distant China over the bleak steppes of Tartary, and so conveyed to Europe the much-treasured secret of the avaricious Celestials. Then only monarchs revelled in the luxury of silk garments; now the poorest and most ill-used peasant in Lebanon, and in the plains of North Syria, would deem himself a disgrace to the village if his wife could not sport a new silk dress at least once a year—on Easter Day—and he himself a girdle of the same material; very gay, indeed, as regards variety of colors.

No sooner has the short-lived winter blown its last gale from the westward, which occurs early in February, than the whole of animated nature seems to wake up by common consent into life and activity. Peasants who, like their cocoons, have been almost hermetically sealed up in their huts for the last three months, enter vigorously upon the labors and the duties necessary for the forthcoming spring and summer. The birds, who have never quitted the place, although so long silent, now burst forth into songs of praise, and trees and shrubs are covered with buds. Amongst the earliest of the latter is the mulberry, which is no sooner clad with delicate leaves, so appropriate for their food, than the mites of silk-worms issue by countless thousands from the eggs, and are immediately placed in small round flat baskets covered with clay, where they are forthwith supplied with the tender leaves of the mulberry. The peasant and his family have now commenced the duties of the year. As day by day the leaf increases in size, so the silk-worms rapidly grow in proportion, till from having been almost invisible mites, and then the size of ants, in the course of a week they attain to nearly half an inch in length, and have to be transferred to baskets of double the size of the first ones. Meanwhile, the peasant and his wife have had no sinecures. Whilst the former has been busy in remedying what damages the *khooks* may have received during the winter gales, the latter, aided by her children, has gathered at intervals the necessary supply of food for the worms; being careful first that the leaves should be perfectly dry, because one drop of dew amongst the leaves would be fatal to a whole basketful of worms. The khooks above referred to are long, narrow, slight structures, of twigs and leaves intertwined, and supported at intervals by stout stems of old and useless mulberry trees; while the roofing is composed of thick layers of rushes, so plentiful in the marshy lands, which are perfectly impervious to rain; for, on the one hand, whilst the worms must be effectually protected from rain or dews, on the other hand, they require a free circulation of air, a point which is attained by the net-work structure of the sides of the khook. The interior consists of a number of shelves on either side, which are made of a species of slit-reed matwork, and rise one above another in tiers of from three to four, according to the size of the khook, the lowest being at least two feet from the floor, and the uppermost about a foot from the roof. These shelves are called *batoors*, and according to their number is reckoned the wealth of the proprietor, and the quantity of silk they will produce; thus, in speaking of any particular mulberry-plantation, the natives, in bargaining, regulate its worth by saying: "Oh, it has only so many batoors, and can therefore only produce such a number of *rotolos* of silk"; the rotolo being equivalent to five and a half pounds English.

To these khooks, after the expiration of two weeks or so, the worms are removed, and spread upon the batoors above alluded to, which have first been carefully and thickly lined with mulberry leaves, to prevent the worms from falling through. There is no fear of their straying over the sides, or climbing from one shelf to another; silk-worms are instinctively home-loving creatures, and will never of their own accord budge an inch from where they are first placed, until the time arrives when they are about to become cocoons. Soon after this final transfer of the worm, commences that strange phenomenon of apparent utter lifelessness, which lasts for forty-eight hours, during which interval the creature is changing its first skin, having outgrown its India rubber capacities. The natives call this the first *soame*, or fast; and the Christian part of them, especially the Greeks, look upon this as a certain indication that the worms are of the same creed as themselves. During these soames, which are three in number, at intervals of about a fortnight each, the worms require no food, and the peasant occupies himself in the tillage of the ground, whilst his family devote themselves to domestic pursuits. As they approach maturity, the appetite of the worms becomes prodigious, and early and late has the peasant to labor, lopping down huge branches, of the mulberries, till what was a verdant and beautiful plantation some six weeks before, is now a wilderness of leafless stems and branches. But so congenial is the climate, and so fertile the soil, that in less than a month afterwards, fresh sprouts are covered with tender leaves, so that in autumn so thick is the foliage, so stout the branches, that the stranger would never guess how recently they had been lopped. When the first leaves in winter begin to fall, then are the trees again denuded of their foliage. This time, however, the branches are spared, and the leaves gathered by hand, and stored up against winter, when, with the manure of the worms, they serve as fodder for the oxen, which would otherwise starve. The branches lopped off at first form a vast and plentiful supply of firewood for the peasant's family.

The third and last soame or fast of the worms is the signal for the peasant to bestir himself, and procure as much brushwood as he can, which, when dried in the sun, he throws lightly upon the batoors. During this interval, the worms have become of a transparent golden color, and the moment they wake up again, for the first time in their lives, assume a migratory disposition. Up they crawl actively over this bramble, down the next, until each one has selected a fitting spot among the twigs for forming its cocoon; and very wonderful is it to watch the nicety and care with which they weave round themselves that impenetrable texture which constitutes the cocoon. I say very wonderful is it to watch them, but the peasant won't allow us so to do: the *Evil Eye* is his dreadful ogre; so, to guard against this, he locks the door, and flings against it from outside a huge mass of clay. From this act he also divines whether the harvest will be propitious or otherwise. If the clay adheres *en masse*, it is a good omen; if it drops off partly, a bad one; if the whole falls to the ground, it is destruction.

And now, whilst the little industrious worms are hard at work weaving their own winding-sheets, the peasantry are not one whit less busy preparing for them a cruel death. Huge, antique-looking, dusty old wheels, which have been hidden for the last twelve months, are brought to light again, and brushed up; the temporary furnace of last year is repaired, the reservoir of fresh water lined with clay, the whole uncouth apparatus set up, and the peasant's rickety old stool placed ready against the first day of reeling. All the family find occupation one way or another, and piles of fuel are heaped up hard by, ready to feed the furnace. At last the auspicious morning arrives, and with many prayers and ceremonies, the door of the khook is opened, when men, women and children set to work, denuding the briers of the cocoons, which are piled in scores upon scores of baskets. Then the *mousoom*, or silk harvest, commences in right down earnest.

It is a glorious and a happy sight, in that pleasant country, at this peculiar season of the year, to witness the smile that all nature seems to wear. The whole air is redolent with the odors of countless sweet-scented flowers, the whole earth carpeted with emerald, brilliantly bespangled with tiny flowers of various hues; gaudy butterflies are flitting to and fro from woodbine to woodbine; fruit-trees are in blossom, and myriads of song-birds are waking the echoes in valley and dale; and here, seated under the clear blue canopy of heaven, are picturesque groups rivaling the birds in their ceaseless song, and accompanying themselves with the whiz of the huge wheels upon which they are winding off the silk-worms. One turns the wheel with uncouth handle; another feeds it with the worms; another stirs up the worms being reeled, with something like a schoolmaster's birch-rod; a fourth feeds the fire; a fifth supplies the basin with water as it becomes exhausted; a sixth renovates the basket with fresh cocoons; whilst near by, seated on a mat, are two or three occupied in picking the stuff from off the outside of the cocoons; and this material is known as cotton-silk. They labor hard and long, but with good-will, during the first week after the cocoons are formed, since they obtain 30 per cent. more silk now than they will after that date, because then the cocoons have to be stifled, to prevent the moths—into which they are rapidly being converted—boring through the cocoons, and so rendering them utterly valueless and unavailable. The process of stifling is with the cocoon as simple as is the system of reeling. Spread out upon mats, the cocoons are exposed to the fierce heat of the mid-day sun for a day or two, being carefully turned at intervals during the process, and this answers quite as well as the ovens so indispensable in less congenial climes where the silk-worm is reared. After this process the silk-reelers take it more easily, and relapse into their oriental apathy. They know now that were they to work ever so hard, they cannot abstract one thread more of silk from the suffocated cocoons, and there is no fear of the moths boring their way through. Day by day, however, the scene becomes more picturesque, as golden festoons of newly reeled silk are suspended from branch to branch to dry, and set off the beautiful foliage of the orange and the lemon trees. The stench, however, becomes intolerable from the heaps of dead and reeled-off cocoons, and swallows up all the sweet odors that nature has planted around. By this method of reeling, they are supposed to obtain about one pound of silk from every five and a half of live cocoons, and just half that amount from those that have been stifled. The silk is all reeled off by the middle of June, when it is immediately sold on the spot to brokers, who have been hovering about like vultures for the last few weeks, and these again dispose of it to merchants, who ship it for Lyons and other European ports, where, under skilful hands, it is soon converted into that costly material which ladies love to wear. In the interim, the cocoons left for seed have been perforated by the beautiful short-lived, white, velvety-looking moths into which the silk-worm has been converted. By instinct, the males and females come together; the former die off within an hour or so; the latter may linger on for a day, in which interval, on linen spread for their especial behoof, they deposit an incredible amount of eggs, which constitute the peasant's supply of seed for the next season. When these are perfectly dry, they are carefully scraped off into a linen bag, and suspended from the ceiling of the peasant's hut, where they will remain undisturbed for a twelvemonth to come.

Of late years, wonderful improvements have been made in the quantity and quality of Syrian silk by the erection of European factories and the introduction of European machinery. At one of these—the factory of a Frenchman (M. de Portales)—thousands of unhappy and fugitive Maronites found refuge during the recent terrible massacres in the Lebanon.—*Chambers's Journal.*

ANECDOTE OF THE EMPEROR JOSEPH II. OF AUSTRIA.

Much that would be unpleasant to the ear might be said of the state of Austria, Hungary and Bohemia, before the reign of this good Emperor. Stories are told of the cruel oppression of the despotic aristocracy, and the tyranny of magistrates, that make one's hair stand on end. The following, however, is too interesting to be passed over.

When the noble Joseph travelled through his dominions he wished to judge with his own eyes of the real state of his people; to accomplish this object he was in the habit of dressing himself plainly, generally as an officer, and going thus disguised here and there, looking about and asking questions; in this way he discovered many things which otherwise would have remained unknown to him, and he became acquainted with abuses which he could not have believed possible to exist.

Travelling in this manner through Hungary, he, one morning, walked out through the streets of Presburg. No one, seeing the plain uniform of an officer, suspected they were looking upon their beloved Emperor, for it was still so early that every one believed him to be in bed. The streets were just being cleaned by the convicts and prisoners.

The Emperor standing to look at them while they worked, remarked among them a handsome, stately-looking old man, whose hair and beard were white as silver, but whose figure was still unbent by age. His looks were at once noble and intelligent. He alone, of all the prisoners, had a chain fastened to his leg, to which was attached a heavy bullet. He seemed to work vigorously, but still the overseer was continually calling out to him, finding fault and rating him without any apparent cause, and as if for no reason but to give annoyance to the old man; he, on his part, appeared to bear all his sufferings with meekness and patience.

"What can *he* have done that he should have to drag that heavy chain and bullet?" thought the Emperor within himself, "I would not take him for a murderer, or desperate criminal of any kind!" Unobserved by the overseer, who had gone away, he went up to him and said, "What have you done, old man, that you are the only one who carries about a chain and bullet?" The sound of the voice was so gentle and full of pity that the old man leant on his broom, and, looking smilingly at the officer, said, "I am a freeman, from the province of Comorn; round about my little property lie the lands of the Count ——. He wished to get possession of my farm, but I would not sell it because I wished to leave it to my children; the consequence of my refusal was that I was persecuted, punished and tormented, in every possible way, without any reason being assigned for it. Process after process was served against me, all of which, of course, I lost; until at last I was fairly ruined and forced to sell my property to the Count. I retained the dwelling-house for one year longer, at the end of which time I hoped to find some employment. This was agreed to, but one day, soon after, happening to stand in front of my door, a wounded hare suddenly ran past. It was the thought of a moment; I lifted the stick which was in my hand and felled it to the ground. Just then the Count rode up; seeing what I had done, he raised his riding-whip and struck me across the head. Immediately after the Count's servant's came up and took me into custody, although I had never laid a finger on the hare.* I was taken to prison, where I lay six months, at the end of which time the form of a trial was gone through, and I was condemned to be imprisoned for two years. My wife and children were turned out of their home and driven into wretched misery. This, please your honor, is my history!" "But is it true?" said the Emperor sternly, shivering with horror at the recital, and anger glowing in his generous bosom. The old man looked at him sorrowfully and said, "What good could it possibly do me to make myself white in your eyes, if I were really black? No, no! it is too true, but ask any one round about, you will hear the same story everywhere—I and my sad history are well known."

"But how can this be possible? Why is your Emperor not informed of it?" said Joseph.

"Oh, he is far away! and travelling is difficult; besides, a poor man like me *must* be wrong when his opponent is a nobleman," said the prisoner with a deep sigh.

"What is the name of the governor of your prison?" asked the Emperor. "Oh, sir! do me a favor," exclaimed the old man sadly; "pray do not try to interfere in my favor. Once before a nobleman endeavored to befriend me, and procure justice for me, and all that came of it was fifty lashes and this chain and bullet, which I have wearily dragged ever since. No, no! do not think of it, your trouble would be all in vain!"

At this moment the overseer returned; he hurried up with his stick raised, exclaiming, "There you are again, you lazy fellow, chattering away your time instead of working! Have you found another soft-hearted fool willing to listen to your grievances and complaints? Perhaps you would like another fifty lashes, and a chain and bullet for the other leg!" The man was now boiling with rage and anger, and again raised his stick to strike the old man.

The Emperor parried the stroke with his cane, and the stick of the overseer flew over his head.

"Sirrah!" exclaimed he in a passion, "who gave you a right to interfere with an official in the discharge of his duty? I will arrest you, sir!"

The Emperor slowly unbuttoned his overcoat, and showed to the enraged overseer a shining star, surmounted by the black double-headed eagle of Austria! The overseer, now recognizing the Emperor, stood paralyzed with terror, then exclaimed, "Mercy, mercy!" and tried to fall on his knees. "Away!" cried the Emperor; "lead me instantly to the governor." Hesitation could not avail the wretched man; leaving his stick lying on the street, he hurried on before the Emperor with unsteady limbs and palpitating heart. When they arrived at the jail, the Emperor stood still for a few moments in the great court, and looking wistfully around him, said half aloud: "How many a victim of a rude and inhuman cruelty may be groaning in chains within these walls! O God! help me to procure justice for all!" He then followed the overseer to the apartment of the governor, who was still in bed; but so soon as the word "Emperor" struck upon his ear, he jumped up, and stood before his master as pale as the overseer.

It may easily be imagined that the Emperor did not praise him too much for the late hours he kept. On this subject he gave him a short but severe lecture. He then asked the overseer the name of the old man, but this was unnecessary; the governor knew at once to whom he referred, and named him. Joseph then caused the papers connected with the prisoner's trial and condemnation to be laid before him. He then sat down and examined them carefully, and found all that the old man had told to be strictly true. Putting all the documents in his pocket, he rose, and said to the governor, "Answer me honestly this one question; it may moderate the severity of your punishment. Did any one interfere in behalf of this prisoner?"

"Yes, please your Majesty," answered the governor.

"Then why was the voice of humanity not listened to?"

"Because—because—the judge is a—a—a friend of the Count, from whom the prisoner *intended* to steal the hare."

"Indeed! and who ordered the flogging, and chain and bullet?"

"The judge ordered them, may it please your Majesty."

"For what reason?" demanded Joseph.

"In order that the prisoner might give up telling his story to every one."

"What villainy! Villains every one, from the highest to the lowest—a blackened, worthless chain, each link of which is worse than the other!" Without uttering another word, the Emperor left the room, but returned almost immediately, and said impressively, "Woe be to him who does aught to harm that old man!" Then going out, he hurried home to the castle, where, with deep emotion, he again read over the papers; this done, he summoned the judge to appear before him.

We pass over the unpleasant interview between the sovereign and the judge: the result was made known to all men. The judge was put into prison, and obliged to clean the streets of Presburg in the stead of the old man; and for companions he had the governor and overseer, who, by the bye, never received his stick again, except at intervals, when it was laid across his shoulders. The judge also received the fifty lashes (with interest) which he had so unceremoniously ordered to be given to the old man; the chain and bullet, too, became his by right of inheritance.

Joseph having set the old man at liberty, sent for him to the castle, and held a lengthened conversation with him, from which he concluded that he was a shrewd, well-educated person. He therefore said to him, "You can be of use to me; your house and property are sold. I cannot give them back to you, and even if I could, it would not be desirable, for the hatred of the nobleman would follow you, and render you unhappy. But this I will do: I will give you a sum of money equal to the value of your lost property, and I will make you the governor of the jail, hoping that you, who have suffered the horrors of barbarous cruelty and injustice, will treat all prisoners committed to your care with humanity, consideration and mildness. See also that your subordinates practise the same virtues; and if any injustice emanates from those who are placed over you in authority, write immediately and let me know. Write every detail, but with the strictest regard to truth; in this case you shall certainly hear from me. Farewell! Gather your family around you, forget none of my words, and may God bless you!"

The happy old man would have thanked the Emperor, but he, with a kindly nod, passed into an inner room.—*Good Words.*

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* The law in Germany is that no one can be punished for killing game, if they do not touch it.

THE CAPTURE OF PEKIN.

Correspondence of The Evening Post.

NING-PO, China, December 1, 1860.

The allied army, having finally forced their way to Pekin, driven the Emperor from his palace, devastated several cities, sacked and burnt one of the imperial residences, appropriating to themselves what they could use and destroying what they could not remove, have succeeded in wrenching from an imperial commissioner (Prince Kung) compliance with terms which have been dictated by the conquerors at the point of the bayonet.

A few incidents connected with the capture of Pekin and the destruction of the Emperor's palace may not be uninteresting. After leaving Tien-tsin with the army, it was customary to send out a party to reconnoitre, and to secure a camping ground for the allied forces. The persons thus employed used to carry a flag of truce, and generally communicated with the local authorities of the towns near which the army was to pass or to encamp. After securing the necessary ground and observing the peculiarities of the country, these persons would return to the camp and conduct the army on to the next selected camping ground. One of these parties, consisting of about twenty persons in all, was captured by Sang-ko-lin-sin's army. The party was returning to headquarters, after having selected a convenient camp, and were to conduct the advancing troops on the next march. They were intercepted by a detachment of Sang-ko-lin-sin's army, who carried them before the commander-in-chief.

The leader of this party was one Harry Parkes. This man was concerned in the matter of the lorcha Arrow, which led to the last Anglo-Chinese war. He is a good Chinese linguist, is well acquainted with the manners, customs, etc., of the people and rulers, and his services to the allied expedition have been invaluable in his capacity of a "spy." Mr. Parkes, when brought before the Tartar general, claimed such treatment as was due the bearer of a flag of truce. Sang-ko-lin-sin, however, chose to regard him and his party as spies, and treated them with roughness. They were bound and confined in close quarters and subjected to indignities. Lord Elgin demanded the return of these persons before opening negotiations.

Nineteen of the party, one of whom is Mr. Parkes, were returned. Eleven dead bodies, among them T. W. Bowlby, special correspondent of the London *Times*, W. De Norman, *attaché* to the British Legation at Shanghai, and Lieutenant Anderson, of Fane's horse, were returned. Three are said to be still missing, and it is believed they were beheaded by order of a Tartar general who had been wounded at the battle of Ting-chou. The Chinese government is to pay 300,000 taels to the friends of these persons as indemnity, in addition to the 8,000,000 taels.

Now, was Harry Parkes entitled to be treated as the bearer of a flag of truce, or was he a spy, in the true sense of the word? He was treated as the latter. In punishment for this (it is pretended) the Emperor's magnificent summer palace was given up to loot, which means plunder. Evidences were found within the palace of the recent flight of its royal owner. The French had the honor of commencing the sack.

This palace is reported to have been of the most beautiful kind. The grounds for two miles were laid out in the most magnificent Oriental style. There were groves and winding paths, canals, lakes and purling streams, gardens of flowers, artificial rock work and mountain scenery, arches and monuments of great antiquity and beauty, all of which has been pillaged—destroyed—burned. There was a little jealousy between the French and English about the plunder, the latter claiming that their allies got the lion's share of the spoils. An English gentleman who was on the spot thus describes the scene: "After the French had enjoyed a day's 'looting,' many of the officers thereby making large fortunes, the General gave permission to the British officers to bring away as much as they liked. Many officers found large pieces of gold, worth hundreds of pounds. A magnificent gold claret jug, of Chinese manufacture, valued at £128 sterling, "was taken among the loot." Robes of richest silk and satin, with embroidery of uncommon elegance, were found and appropriated. Side tables were found covered with curious old books and articles of *virtu*. Large rooms literally filled with richest silks and satins and curiosities. These satins were used by the troops as saddle cloths, as blankets, and were even strewn on the ground beneath the tents as carpets, or were wantonly trampled under foot.

The imperial bed-chamber was entered by the common soldiers, its sumptuous furniture being thrown about and distributed among the men. The apartments of the Empress were no more sacred in the eyes of the invaders. A small beautiful silk handkerchief taken from under the royal pillow is exhibited. When no more could be carried away, every officer and soldier having literally loaded themselves with the spoils to repletion, "they went about with large sticks, breaking to pieces the remaining curiosities which were of rather bulky size."

I still quote from a private letter, written by an Englishman who was on the spot.

"The 19th of October was the great day of destruction; black masses of smoke rose continually from the gardens, obscuring the light of the sun. The houses of the surrounding peasantry were not spared, and thousands of unhappy subjects had to suffer for the sins of their rulers. One or two monuments were only spared by order of the general, as works of art. Every public building was destroyed. (This means, of course, those connected with this particular palace.) Before sunset of this second day every place had been fired, and the soldiers were marched back to camp at the Shabing gate. We passed the entrance gate, and watched with pleasure the darting flames curling with grotesque festoons and wreaths, as it twined in its last embrace the grand portal of the palace, while the column of smoke that rose heavenwards formed a fine background to this living picture of red flame that hissed and crackled as if glorying in the destruction it spread around. On every side, flames and smouldering ruins stayed the progress of the passers by. Thousands of poor and affrighted people viewed the scene from a distance with awe and wonder; the most terrible sufferers being those who are wholly innocent of any offence, in thought, word, or deed, against those Christian soldiers from afar. As we took our last look upon this scene, we muttered to ourself, "revenge is sweet." Such is war and its horrors—such, alas! are the features of our Christianity presented to these people by our warriors.

G. W. P.

THE FREEDOM OF SPEECH.

[Extract from a sermon preached by the Rev. C. H. A. BULKLEY, pastor of the First Congregational Church in Paterson, N. J., Feb. 24, 1861.]

Why should I tell of the gags, the bands, the ropes, the tar and feathers, the pistols and knives which have awed men at the South or West and shut their mouths? Who wants to hear the sad details? It is enough that we feel such restriction on the liberty of speech. Had Galileo been left alone by bigoted and meddling priests, had Harvey been favored by narrow-minded physicians, had Bunyan and Baxter been allowed to preach unawed by church power, had Garrison spoke and printed, had New England—yes, Congregational ministers—stood by him, had the gag law not worked in Lane Seminary, had Methodism followed its founder and not advised wholly to refrain from free discussion on slavery, the Church, the State and the world might have been more advanced in science, more strong in union for liberty, more true to humanity and more blessed of God. Oh! when I think of it, it seems too painful a fact that the natural forces of man have been diminished, his intellect overshadowed, his moralities perverted, his humanities chilled, his nationality broken up, and the world's dial of progress put back ten, yea, a hundred degrees by all these wicked enactments of Church and State, by all these oppositions of selfish and bigoted and ambitious men against that freedom of speech, which is the birthright and inheritance, the enlightener and elevator of the human race! Terrible beyond all calculation or imagination, indescribable beyond all power of language, would be the fearful results were freedom of speech forever to be crushed. Man imbruted, nations tyrannized over, altars desecrated and virtue defiled, would make a Pandemonium of earth. The revolution that beheaded Charles I. laid the foundation of the liberty of the press in England; before, the civil printing and with it free inquiry was restricted by the clergy and the King. No Star Chamber, now, in England is invoked to silence free speech or fetter a free press. Protestantism promotes a freedom in the expression of opinion, which brings out truth, making men still more free. When Kings and Parliaments contended for power, the seales of silence fell from the lips of men, and the shackles of bondage from the press. Royalists and Puritans alike afterwards strove in vain to restore those bonds; the masses learned freely to speak and read until their liberty became a fixed and invincible fact. Vainly then as now did placemen, and lords, and bishops, and demagogues, and serviles, and conservatives plead for restriction; vainly they pictured the evils or magnified the dangers which attended the freedom of speech and of the press. Themselves made those dangers by their hatred of freedom; they struck at the instincts, they invaded the rights, they inflamed the passions of free-born, free-thinking men. What wonder, then, that a storm raged and a fire burned along the pathway of this liberty? Who could expect aught else? "For," says John Milton, "this is not the liberty which we can hope; that no grievance should arise in the Commonwealth; that let no man expect; but when complaints are freely heard, deeply considered and speedily reformed, then is the utmost bound of civil liberty that wise men look for."

But there be those calling themselves wise, who, most illogically, charge upon free speech, and the topics thereof, all the agitations, the schisms, the secessions and the violence, which have attended its restriction. They make the mere incident, the simple occasion, to answer for the cause. That cause is the oppression, the hatred, the bigotry, and the ambition of men. It were well for such illogical reasoners to consider what Jeremy Taylor says, in his "Liberty of Prophesying:" "It is not the differing opinions that is the cause of the present ruptures, but want of charity; it is not the variety of understandings, but the disunion of wills and affections; it is not the several principles but the several ends, that cause our miseries; our opinions commence and are upheld according as our turns are served, and our interests are preserved, and there is no cure for us but piety and charity." Men only can speak freely, when they themselves within are made free by God's liberating truth and Christ's all-embracing love.

Bigots and dogmatists and demagogues, having no real, vital faith in truth and God, tremble for the safety of religion and morals, and prophesy of infidelity when they hear free speech; they deem the letter of a creed or a Constitution, the name of a Church or the authority of a government too sacred and venerable to be touched with words of inquiry or censure; but to all such as these the old liberty-loving Poet says: "Though all the winds of doctrine were let loose to play upon the earth, so truth be in the field, we do injuriously, by licensing and prohibiting, to misdoubt her strength. Let her and falsehood grapple; who ever knew truth put to the worse in a free and open encounter? Her confuting is the best and surest suppressing. He who hears what praying there is for light and clear knowledge to be sent down among us would think of other matters to be constituted beyond the discipline of Geneva, framed and fabricked already to our hands. Yet when the new light which we beg for shines in upon us, there be who envy and oppose, if it come not first in at *their* casements. What a collusion is this, when as we are exhorted by the wise man, 'to use diligence, to seek for wisdom as for hid treasures,' early and late, that another order shall enjoin us, to know nothing but by statute? When a man hath been laboring the hardest labor in the deep mines of knowledge, hath furnished out his findings in all their equipage, drawn forth his reasons as it were a battle ranged, scattered and defeated all objections in his way, calls out his adversary into the plain, offers him the advantage of wind and sun, if he please, only that he may try the matter by dint of argument, for his opponent then to skulk, to try ambushments, to keep a narrow bridge of licensing where the challenger should pass, though it be valor enough in soldiership, is but weakness and cowardice in the wars of truth. For who knows not that truth is strong, next to the Almighty; she needs no policies, nor stratagems, nor licensings to make her victorious; those are the shifts and the defenses that error uses against her power; give her but room, and do not bind her when she sleeps, for then she speaks not true as the old Proteus did, who spake oracles only when he was caught and bound, but then rather she turns herself into all shapes, except her own, and perhaps tunes her voice according to the time, as Micaiah did before Ahab, until she be adjured into her own likeness." Who does not know that by striving forcibly to padlock error's lip you are in danger of imprisoning truth herself? If, too, error's forces become stronger than truth's, will they alike not be exerted to put down free speech?

To-day, in the State, North and South, are men who, to save commerce, property and the Union, do or would shackle freedom. Even men of the press cry down her utterance. What if her friends, gaining power, should forget her word and falter such men? Though wrong, it would be but the law of retaliation. There be men in the Church to whom forms and creeds and names are so sacred that they would not have you argue or question these.

Such men brand a Jefferson as an infidel and a Beecher as a heretic. It is easy to call bad names, but hard to answer good arguments.

There be men who value dogmas and rituals and churchisms as more sacred and precious than temperance, or liberty, or humanity, or morality. There be men in this community who, free to think for themselves, have dared to dissent from the current theologies, to break the ice crystals of orthodoxy, to question the dead letter church creeds. I do not say that their doctrine is true; I do not indorse their views. But this I know, and you too know, that the record of such men's lives, for the most part, is pure and true; they love man, they seek truth, they advance morals, they toil for temperance; and yet a bigoted Church and a misjudging ministry censure, excommunicate, anathematize and disfellowship them. But in this same community there are men who wear fine broadcloth and trim their mustaches, who carry perfumed handkerchiefs within yellow kid gloves, who win the smiles of woman and the regards of a pasteboard aristocracy—and these men are church-going once a day at least—they swallow the creed whole, without a chew of doubt, and say their prayers on Sunday without a faltering word; but they dance all night on Monday, and drink all day on Tuesday, and gamble all day on Wednesday, and swear all day on Thursday, and horse race all day on Friday, and gluttonize all day on Saturday—and these the Church tolerates and society courts and the world admires; while, for aught they care or do to the contrary, humanity may bleed, and freedom die, and the community rot to the grave! These be the men who scowl on the bold, outspoken lover of right, the free inquirer after truth. What care they for truth, if they can have their juleps and their billiards; what is right to them, but the liberty to do great wrong? Shall we succumb to such as these, or to those who favor them? No! Heaven forbid! Shall we yield to such in their attempts to put down free discussion, to silence agitation? No! Truth forbid! Shall we be overawed at their threats or overwhelmed by their influence? No! Justice forbid! Shall we shrink back at their inflammatory cries and unjust accusations? No! Honor forbid! Shall we abate one jot or tittle of our rights to speak out what we think? No! Freedom forbid!

OVER THE MOUNTAIN.

BY ADELAIDE PROCTOR.

Like dreary prison walls
The stern, gray mountains rise,
Until their topmost crags
Touch the far, gloomy skies:
One steep and narrow path
Winds up the mountain's crest,
And from our valley leads
Out to the golden West.

I dwell here in content,
Thankful for tranquil days;
And yet, my eyes grow dim,
And still I gaze and gaze
Upon that mountain pass,
That leads—or so it seems—
To some far, happy land,
Known in a world of dreams.

And as I watch that path
Over the distant hill,
A foolish longing comes
My heart and soul to fill—
A painful, strange desire
To break some weary bond—
A vague, unuttered wish
For what might lie beyond!

In that far world unknown
Over that distant hill,
May dwell the loved and lost,
Lost—yet beloved still;
I have a yearning hope,
Half longing, and half pain,
That by that mountain pass
They may return again.

Space may keep friends apart,
Death has a mighty thrall;
There is another gulf
Harder to cross than all;
Yet, watching that far road,
My heart beats full and fast—
If they should come once more,
If they should come at last!

See, down the mountain side
The silver vapors creep;
They hide the rocky cliffs,
They hide the craggy steep,
They hide the narrow path
That comes across the hill—
Oh, foolish longing, cease!
Oh, beating heart, be still!

THE ANDERSON CASE

In a recent debate in which the case of Anderson, the fugitive, was mentioned, Lord Palmerston said:

"To the inquiries which have been addressed to me by the honorable member for Dudley I think I can best reply by stating how the case which he has brought under our notice actually stands. My noble friend the Duke of Newcastle wrote, on the 9th of January, to the Governor-General of Canada to say that he was not to surrender Anderson (cheers) to the United States until he had received from Her Majesty's government positive instructions to do so (hear, hear). An impression generally prevails that the decision pronounced by the Court of Queen's Bench in Canada would have the effect of rendering it necessary that Anderson should be given up; but it has in reality no bearing upon that point, for, whether it be right or wrong, it simply amounts to this, that Anderson was not to be taken out of the custody in which he happened to be placed. With the Governor-General of Canada, not with the Court of Queen's Bench, rests the office of issuing a warrant for his surrender when application for that surrender is made (hear, hear). It is not, of course, for me to give any opinion with respect to the conflicting jurisdictions of the Court of Queen's Bench here and that in Canada, or to say what is likely to be the line of conduct pursued by the latter on receiving the writ which has been issued in this case by the former. It is, however, plain enough that if Anderson should be sent to this country in compliance with that writ, he could not be sent through the American territory, and that the writ, therefore, cannot be executed until the opening of our other line of communication with Canada has taken place.

I may add, that I quite concur with my honorable friend who has just spoken, in regard to that portion of the Ashburton treaty which relates to this question as imperfect and unintelligible (hear, hear). It is as clear as day, that a criminal ought to be claimed under its provisions only upon an accusation that he is guilty of some one of the offences mentioned in the treaty, and that the circumstances alleged as the grounds of asking for his surrender, should be such as to show that he would be liable to be prosecuted for the crime with which he stands charged according to the laws of the land in which he happened to be captured—that is to say, in the present instance, according to the laws of England (hear, hear). It is, in my opinion, perfectly plain that the American government must, before they can make good their case, establish the fact that Anderson has committed an offence which the law of this country constitutes murder, and give proofs sufficient to satisfy an English justice of the peace that he ought to be committed to be tried for that accusation. I will not now enter into the question whether a free man, who kills in self-defence another who attempts to reduce him to a state of slavery, is guilty of manslaughter, or justifiable homicide, or murder; but I think it probable no English lawyer would place the act under the last-mentioned head, and, if that be so, it is quite clear that no good case has been made out for the surrender of Anderson under the provisions of the treaty (cheers).

From The London Times.

The idea of the mere possibility of our government handing over an innocent black man to be put to death was so flagrantly impossible that it seems to have been universally and tacitly agreed that it would be injurious to our national character to entertain such a suggestion as a possibility. The lawyers have, as usual, managed to perplex the question by ingenious verbal refinements, and this phase of the matter has consequently caused a conversation in the House of Commons. We cannot say that Lord Palmerston set all anxieties to rest on Friday night, for no anxieties ever existed; but he showed that the public confidence was entirely justified. The Governor-General of the Canadas has long ago received his instructions to hold Anderson in his custody and under his protection, and to await positive orders from England. *Practically, Anderson is as safe from the verdict of a jury of slave-owners as he would be in the centre of Africa.* But still the legal questions are important, as directing the course of procedure in similar cases; for, if a slave be legally in peril of a charge of murder for forcibly defending his liberty, he may be in peril of a charge of robbery for stealing his clothes, or even for stealing his own body. When the Canadian decision first reached this country there was a disposition on the part of our lawyers to think that the Canadian Court was technically right. This impression was hastily taken up, less perhaps from the arguments of the two judges who gave the judgment than from the weak reasons given by the judge who dissented. A more leisurely examination of the case has entirely changed the course of legal opinion, and at this moment Westminster Hall is almost unanimous to the effect that the Court of Queen's Bench in Canada has given a judgment which cannot be sustained before any Court of appeal.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 27, 1861.

The President to-day communicated to the Senate the correspondence between the United States and Great Britain in regard to the case of the fugitive slave, Anderson. The Senate went into executive session upon this correspondence, and ordered it to be printed.

THE FAME OF FEMALE PAINTERS.

From The Crayon for February.

What remains of the fame of dancers and musicians with whose names the dictionaries so [illegible] Of Guimard, a famous *danseuse*, there is no [illegible] but that of a sullied reputation and a richly [illegible] mansion in a depraved taste. Malibran and Pasta charmed the ears of our forefathers—where are the brilliant notes that were warbled from their throats? Borne away by the wind, kindred to the breath that uttered them. But the wind could not sweep away the canvas on which Claudine Stella wrote her name to hang by the side of Poussin's in the museums of their common country. Go to the Louvre, go to Florence, and contemplate Madame Le Brun still alive in her graceful portraits. Go to Versailles, and see that statue of Joan of Arc preserving the name of a king's daughter, which posterity never would have known had not a nobler art than dancing given to it a fame as lasting as the marble which consecrates it. Italy has given great singers to the world, musicians of the highest order, dancers that rival Taglioni, and equally eminent female painters. Only of the latter can she show testimonials of genius that have been spared by the hand of time. At Venice she points to the portraits of Maria Robusti, the daughter of Tintoretto; at Bologna to Lavinia Fontana, the painter of Pope Gregory XIII., and at Florence to Elizabeth Sirani, who was the first to open a studio for female pupils. At the Uffizji in Florence you will be arrested by the terrible *Judith* of Artemisia Gentileschi, and at the *Accademia*, alongside of the Dominican Fra Angelico, by the timid countenance of Sister Plautilla Nelli, a member of the same order. Female painters have, too, their patron even in Paradise. There is a relic at Bologna of a precious panel, the work of the hand of St. Catherine Vigri, whom painting conducted, as dancing could not, to the honors of canonization.

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SIGN of the MAMMOTH PEN, No. 72 N. Fourth street (2d door below Arch), Phila., wholesale and retail stationery, blank books, &c., which we will sell lower than the usual prices. English, French and American cap, letter and note papers, envelopes, sealing wax, plain and fancy wafers of every description, very superior gold and steel pens, ink and inkstands, sand boxes, wafer cups, paper weights, plain and fancy penholders, drawing pencils and books, Bristol board, tracing paper, impression paper, tissue paper, visiting and wedding cards, pocket books, portfolios, bankers' cases, Diaries, &c., envelopes at 10 cents per 100 and 90 cents per 1,000. Mercantile firms, Insurance companies, banks, &c., furnished with blank books to order, of the best materials and workmanship.
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TO THOSE WHO ARE UNWILLING TO SUPPORT SLAVERY.—During the last twelve years a store of free labor goods has been kept at the N. W. corner of Fifth and Cherry streets, in this city, for the convenience of those who wish to avoid the use of the fruits of slavery. It will scarcely be denied that the rejection of slave labor cotton, sugar and rice is a good testimony against slavery—fully as influential against that system as a refusal to pay militia fines or to purchase prize goods is against war. Will not those who are willing to make a sacrifice, if need be, to sustain their convictions on the latter subject, lend their influence in like manner against slavery? This is the only Grocery kept by a Friend in the city. Much care is taken to keep good Sugars, Syrups, Molasses, Coffees, Teas, Cocoa, Chocolate, Rice, Spices, Fruit, &c., and a variety of Dry Goods. The proprietor aims to sell as low as he can to sustain the business. With double the patronage, prices could be somewhat reduced, probably every article could be sold as low as similar goods in the market. Many are so sold now. Those who favor the Store with their custom, will find the articles good, and free from adulteration. On hand, Dried Peaches of superior quality.
GEORGE W. TAYLOR.